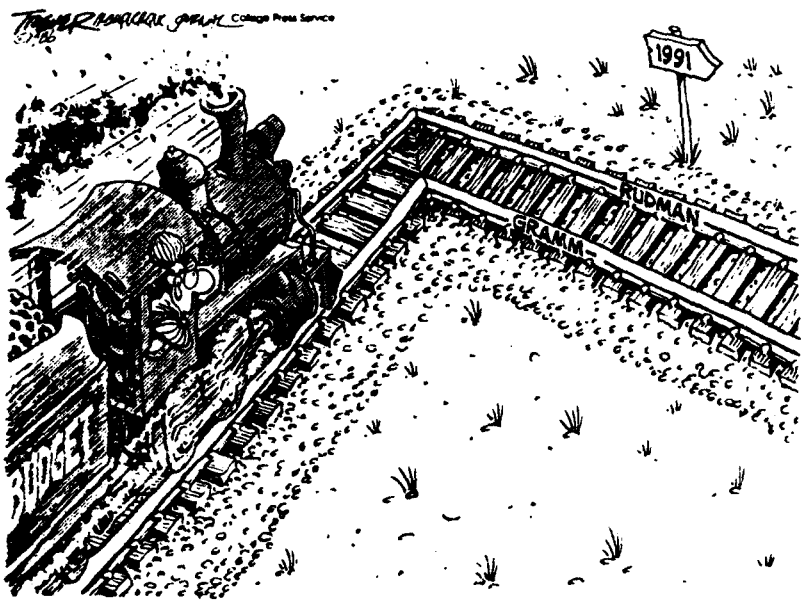
NUMBER 254
MARCH 1986

The Progressive Review

HOW ITALIAN CITIES REINDUSTRIALIZED



A Referendum for Peace?

SOUTH AFRICA: TOWARD REVOLUTION?

CITY DESK BEGINS ON PAGE 29

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The Weather Report

Politics

The Reverend Jerry Falwell, president of the Moral Majority, says that the group is being absorbed by a new organization, the Liberty Federation. Falwell says the Moral Majority will "continue functioning in the 'strictly moral' areas where we labored in earlier years," while the federation will take on a larger cross-section of issues, such as the arms race and amendments to balance the budget. Of Falwell's announcement, John Buchanan, president of People for the American Way, a group formed to oppose the Moral Majority, said now that Falwell "admits he is in the political arena, [he] should argue his positions on the merits" and "stop pretending to be the chairman of the Lord's political action committee and stop suggesting that to disagree with Jerry Falwell is to side with Satan against God."

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EDITOR: Sam Smith
CONTRIBUTING CORRESPONDENTS: Charles McDowell, Chuck Stone, Eugene McCarthy, Des Wilson, Mike Bell
CARTOONIST: John Wiebenson

THE PROGRESSIVE REVIEW
1739 Conn Ave NW
DC 20009
202-232-5544

Republican Illinois state representative Jill Zwick will have an unusual candidate running against her in the next primary -- her ex-husband. Says Morton Zwick, a commodities broker, "I have the highest regard for my ex-wife, but I think it is time for a new direction." The couple were divorced in 1984.

•

Although computers are used extensively in political campaigns, most polticians are computer illiterates. One exception is New Hampshire's Republican governor John Sununu who keeps an IBM PC at his desk and uses a laptop portable in his car and at home. When a party worker complained about troubles he was having with a mass mailing, the hacker politician fixed the problem himself. A mechanical engineering graduate of MIT, Sununu has introduced the computer age to the state's budgeting and planning. But to some state legislators the governor's love of computers is producing error messages; they complain that he is blocking their access to computer information about the state. And despite a state court ruling that the public may copy any public documents, Sununu says this does not apply to information on a computer.

•

Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition is working on plans for a state-by-state organization and is taking other steps to counter criticism that the RC has been too disorganized. In a memo to a conference held by the organization last December, Jackson wrote, "Neither the Democrats nor the Republicans can swear that we won't go totally independent if neither of them provide us with a live option." Info: Rainbow

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Coalition, 2100 M NW #316, DC 20037 (202-955-5795).

Ecology

The Agricultural Productivity Act, the first alternative farming systems legislation passed by Congress, has been signed into law. The law calls for designing farming systems studies and an information study. Research projects comparing three types of farming systems — conventional, transitional, and alternative, are planned. Each farming system project would include 12 or more farms, and last up to fifteen years. Reports the Institute for Alternative Agriculture, USDA would also be required to inventory, classify and assess existing alternative agriculture studies, reports and other materials and to make available to farmers and ranchers any that would help them move toward low-cost environmentally sound farming systems.

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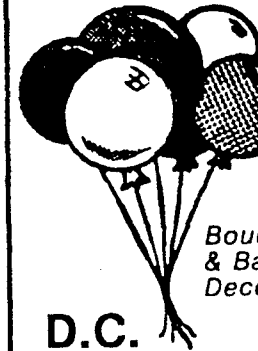
The Bald Eagle has made a dramatic recovery since DDT was banned in the early seventies. Birdwatchers say the bald eagle population has almost doubled, and they can now be sighted in every state but Hawaii.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LAWS OF ECOLOGY

1. Everything is connected to everything else.
2. Everything must go somewhere.
3. Nature knows best.
4. There is no such thing as a free lunch.

—Barry Commoner

A major conference on Green politics and the prospects for a new environmental/industrial politics in the US will be sponsored by the Natural Environment and Resources Area of the Urban Planning Program at UCLA, April 17-19. About a thousand participants are expected including scholars, community activists and interested members of the public. Info: 213-825-1446.

•

The Second North American Bioregional Conference will be held Aug 25-Sept 2 at a site still to be picked, but probably near Grand Rapids, Mich. Info: Bioregional Project, Box 3, Brixley, Mo. 65618 (417-679-4773)

•

The Institute for Social Ecology, PO Box 384, Rochester, VT 05767 has prepared a brochure describing its program offerings during the summer. The institute has established affiliations with Burlington College and Goddard College so that college credit can be received for work done. A 14-month graduate program is also available which leads to a masters of arts degree in social ecology.

Economics

According to studies by the National Center for Employee Ownership and the University of Michigan's Survey Research Center, employee-owned firms have been shown to be fifty percent more profitable than conventional companies with twice the productivity

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growth. Mostly owned employee firms also generate more jobs. High tech companies that share ownership grow two to four times the rate of those that do not. For an interesting article on employee ownership, see the January Psychology Today.

•

A survey of a hundred top corporations found the average executive spends 21 weeks a year in meetings. What's more, the survey found, that includes six weeks of worthless meetings.

•

Robert Rodale, head of the company that puts out *Prevention* Magazine, wants to build a "repair mall," where people can have all their appliances fixed under one roof. He says a lot of toasters, clocks and other items get thrown away because it's just too much trouble to find someone to repair them. His planned fix-it mall in Allentown, Pennsylvania, would house a dozen or so specialty repair shops.

•

Here's another example of the insurance strike in action: marine insurance companies are raising premiums so high on commercial fishing operations, that many fisherman can't afford coverage anymore. Commercial fishing is the nation's most hazardous profession, ahead of even mining. Thought is now being given to limiting the liability of insurance companies in fishing injury cases to medical expenses and lost wages only.

•

The nation's largest employee-owned company, Weirton Steel, made a profit of $61 million last year, slightly more than it made in 1984, its first year of operation.

•

The next time you call TWA for a reservation, you may end up talking to a prisoner. The company has worked a deal with the Camarillo, Ca., youth correctional center to take phone reservations. The 25 women inmates are given training and receive minimum wage. The TWA program started in January, but Best Western has been using Arizona prisoners to take reservations for the past five years. Women inmates take about five percent of the company's reservations says ZIP Target Marketing magazine. The program has brought in $30 million for Best Western. Thirty-three of the 143 inmates who have worked in the program have been hired by Great Western upon their release.

•

The president of the US Chamber of Commerce says that the inability of small businesses to get liability insurance is the number one issue facing its members. A survey of more than 1000 members found that 14% could not get the insurance and 51% said their premiums had more than doubled. Ten percent reported premium hikes over over 500%.

•

Supporting Subscriptions

Many small circulation political and alternative journals keep going with the aid of supporting subscribers who contribute a sum in addition to the normal subscription fee to aid the publication in its work. You will note on your renewal form that there is such a category. We hope you will indicate your support of our efforts by subscribing with a contribution above the normal fee. Or you may renew right now by sending us your mailing label and a contribution. Mail to the Progressive Review, 1739 Conn. Ave. NW, DC 20009

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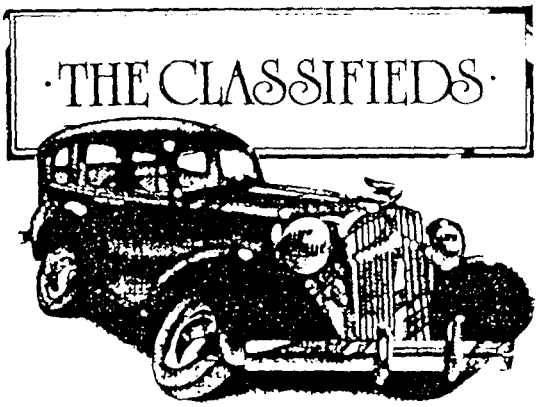

Classified ads are ten cents a word. Count your own words and send payment with ad to the Progressive Review, 1739 Conn. Ave NW, DC 20009

DISARMER'S HANDBOOK: 318 pages. What everyone needs to know about weapons and war. Send $5.95 (includes handling) to RECON, PO Box 14602, Philaelphia Pa 19134.

ENGLISH STUDENT JOURNALIST seeks somewhere to put his head down during a three week visit to DC April 2-20. Will be gaining unpaid work experience with small progressive community magazine, and as he is on an extremely tight budget seeks household or apartment of progressive minded folk to stay with in return for paying share of bills or rent. Free tutoring in the marvels of the English accent, from Cockney to aristocratic, thrown in free! Contact Nick Holdsworth c/o City University Grad. Centre for Journalism, 223-227 St. John's Street, London EC1.

COMPLETE ASTROLOGICAL service by mail: horoscopes, forecast, relationship charts, numerology, more! Reasonable prices, guaranteed service. For free brochure, write: Arcturus Enterprises, Dept. PR, P.O. Box 1137, Clifton Park, NY 12065.

TRY AN AD
IN THE REVIEW

THROUGH A MAJOR DISCOVERY in fine art, artist Roger Henry has made contact with the beyond. Result: many concepts are coming through this contact. One of these concepts can give independence to all artists, financial or otherwise. Concept: today all communities support institutions, societies and departments for the needs of the communities. All of these thousands of towns across the nation are losing out on the biggest cultural return in the world because of the interior decorators-art gallery monopoly that only deals with corpses and considers any painting that has meaning as being too heavy for the trade. History proves that fine art painters give more to the community than any other at the lowest cost. A sale of all art works of Rembrandt would bring more money then is in many national or state treasuries. Leonardo Da Vinci: Leonardo is the name of this artist, Da is of, and Vinci is the name of his town. Mick of Midtown, Frank of Yorktown, Tex of Houston, Barbara of Boston. This concept would have each city, town, county or district, support one fine art painter, studio and stuff, for competition purposes same as communities support ball teams for the community interest. The artist subject would be the community giving the people of the community original paintings of personal interest. Winners of national competitions would put the community on the map. This concept would give culture to the community from the living artist not the dead. For detailed information of this concept write Roger Henry, 2252 Westchester Avenue, Bronx, NY 10462.

JOIN THE SAMARITANS. Do your friends come to you with their problems? Have you been called a "born listener?" If so, consider becoming a Samaritan volunteer. The Samaritans is an international suicide prevention organization dedicated to helping depressed, lonely and despairing people. Info: 662-8100, the Samaritans new Tenley Circle office.

HOLY PHENOMENA resulting in physical discovery of human soul by artist Roger henry is being blocked. 2252 Westchester Ave, Bronx NY 10462

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A group in Vermont has been working on establishing a state food bank. The food bank would acept food legally safe under the good Samaritan law that otherwise would be thrown away. The idea is to find a large warehouse from which to distribute the food to the 64 emergency food shelves in the state. It is also planned that food would be distributed to day care centers, senior citizens and other meal programs. Info: Institute for Social Ecology, Box 384, Rochester NY 05767

Children

A survey comparing working and non-working mothers found those with careers may actually do a better job of feeding their children. The working mothers fed their families more vegetables and less candy, pizza, presweetened cereal and salty snacks. The study also found they prepared just as much food from scratch as stay-at-homes.

With 80 percent of all Swedish women in the work force, debate in that country doesn't center on the "should" of providing day care, but on the "how."

The Christian Science Monitor says Swedes are so committed to day care that one government proposal now requires all municipalities to provide, by 1991, a place in day care for every child who wants one.

Some conservatives have begun to question the national day care system, although even they want families to get subsidies to cover the care. Instead, as Ann-Cathrine Haglund, a moderate party member, tells it, the concern is over the philosophical influences of day care staffers. One source of irritation to Haglund: several occasions when small children from day care centers were encouraged to "demonstrate for peace." The parliament member says parents' views on the matter should have been sought out before those excursions.

•

Faced with figures showing more than one million teenagers in the US become pregnant each year, educators are revamping and expanding their sex education classes, which are now available in some school districts as early as kindergarten.

A New York Times survey of programs in 10 public school districts across the US shows more teachers willing to take on the "hot potato" issues of pre-marital sex and contraception, despite pressure from conservatives to keep mum on those topics. Schools are also broadening their sex-ed classes, says *The Times*, to include such subjects as parental roles and family finances. And to make sure sex education is no longer the concern of the women only, some schools are inserting sex education into science courses that draw predominately male classes.

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The sexes

What are being called the first-ever national marches in support of reproductive rights are set for March 9.

The National Organization for Women is organizing the demonstrators, the first of which will take place in Washington on March 9th, and the second in Los Angeles on March 16th. NOW president Eleanor Smeal says the "Marches for Women's Lives" are being held to counter the conservative "climate where the rights and lives of millions of women are now in very real danger."

Noting that right-wing groups have called 1985-1986 the "year of pain and fear," Smeal says right-wing organizations are using harassment and terrorist tactics so that abortion clinics' insurance rates and rents will go up, causing them to close their doors. Smeal adds that the groups' plans to end all legal, medically safe abortions will actually spell the start of "an era of not just pain and fear, but indeed death for hundreds of thousands of American women."

NOW selected Washington for the first march as a way of reminding Congress and the Supreme Court of the support for access to abortion and birth control. Los Angeles was picked as the second site because an initiative set to appear before California voters this year would, if approved, cut off funds for poor women seeking abortions regardless of health risks to the women if they carry their pregnancies to term.

•

The National Abortion Federation, an umbrella group of abortion providers, reports that as of December 16th, abortion clinics received 66 bomb threats and were the targets of 10 attempted arsons and four bombings.

Clinics also reported 41 acts of vandalism, 36 invasions by anti-abortion forces, two burglaries and 123 anti-abortion picketings. Perhaps most ominously, clinic workers themselves came in for their share of anti-abortion violence. Workers reported 25 cases of receiving hate mail, 15 death threats and seven cases of assault and battery.

Still more incidents of violence have occurred since the federation last totaled the attacks: on December 29th, two clinics in Cincinnati were set afire and a bomb threat cleared a Toledo, clinic, and on December 30th, suspected arson caused another Toledo abortion clinic $20,000 worth of damage.

•

On New Year's eve Washington state signed a $482 million comparable worth settlement covering 35 thousand members of the state employees union.

The settlement brings to a close the legal battle over a ruling by US District Judge Jack Tanner, who said in 1983 that the state was guilty of systematic and purposeful wage discrimination against women. If the state legislators and federal court approve the settlement pact, the plan will take effect April 1st and increase wages for the next six years.

Eleanor Smeal, president of the National Organization for Women, said of comparable worth that, "there's no question it's gaining momentum daily..."

Space

Even before the tragic explosion of *Challenger*, NASA's space shuttle program was plagued by serious problems. Once billed as a low-cost alternative to rocket launches, the shuttle's costs have soared to heights unimagined when it was first proposed in the early seventies. NASA's original estimate of the cost per mission was $10 milion. In reality, it's been nearly 10 times that, and the cost per pound of payload has soared to 25 times the original projections.

Could the loss of *Challenger* be the final straw? Congressional space consultant Thomas Rogers says NASA is caught up in a classic catch-22 situation: "There isn't much going on in space because it costs too much, and it costs to much because there isn't very much going on."

Africa

The United Nations reports the international effort to help African famine victims saved at least 3 million lives in 1985. UNICEF says it saved the lives of another million children with a massive vaccination campaign.

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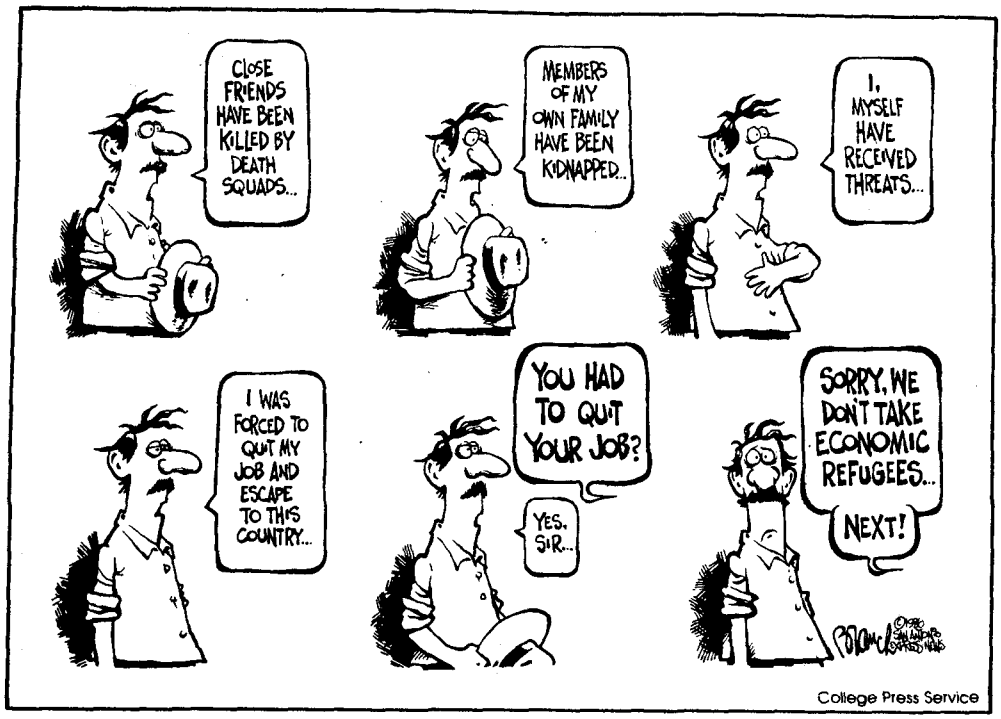
CLOSE FRIENDS HAVE BEEN KILLED BY DEATH SQUADS...
MEMBERS OF MY OWN FAMILY HAVE BEEN KIDNAPPED...
I, MYSELF HAVE RECEIVED THREATS...
I WAS FORCED TO QUIT MY JOB AND ESCAPE TO THIS COUNTRY...
YOU HAD TO QUIT YOUR JOB?
YES, SIR...
SORRY, WE DON'T TAKE ECONOMIC REFUGEES...
NEXT!
College Press Service

The Free South Africa Movement, along with several major labor unions, has started a boycott against the Royal Dutch/Shell companies. Complaints against the companies include sales of oil to the South African government, operations in Nambia in violation of a UN decree prohibiting resource development there until it is free of South Africa, and its treatment of South African workers. Joining in the boycott are the United Mine Workers, American Federation of Government Employees, the American Federation of State, County and Muncipal Workers and the AFL-CIO. Info: Free South Africa Movement, 545 8th St SE, DC 20003 (202-547-2550).

Education

According to Jonathan Kozol in his new book, Illiterate America, there are sixty million Americans who are total, functional or marginal illiterates. What does this mean? In an interview with This Magazine, Kozol says: "These sixty million people I refer to can't read my book, but that's the least of their worries. They can't read a daily newspaper. They can't read a history book. They can't read the US Constitution or the Bill of Rights. They can't read pesticide warnings. . .If they are parents they can't read antidote instructions on a can of Drano if their child swallows the contents."

Central America

The Los Angeles city council has voted 8-6 to repeal its resolution declaring the city a sanctuary for political refugees, but left standing a policy of providing city services for aliens without asking their status. The council acted after an outpouring of community opposition and the start of a petition drive to overturn the resolution.

•

The Washington Post reports that there have been break-ins involving tampering with sensitive files at sanctuary offices in at least eleven cities over the past 15 months. In one recent case, the someone sawed through a wall of the Pico Rivera United Methodist Church, and pulled

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out sanctuary-related documents and church membership files. But, as elsewhere, nothing was stolen. Some sanctuary leaders have suggested that the FBI or INS is involved. Another possibility is that the break-ins were by agents of Central American countries.

Peace

The Central Committee for Conscientious Objection reports that applications for C.O. status among today's servicemen are on the rise. Some 5,800 members of the armed forces have been granted C.O. status in the 12 years since the draft ended.

By the time you get this, the PRO-PEACE march across the United States should have begun, with thousands of activists marching across the continent demanding global disarmament. The march is slated to have six mobile cafeterias to feed nearly 4 million meals, a mobile radio station, and schooling from elementary through the college level. It's due to arrive in Washington on November 15. The DC office can be reached at 347-0790. Contributions can be sent to PRO-PEACE, 8150 Beverly Blvd., #203, Los Angeles, CA 90048.

•

SANE membership conference, March 15-16, Washington DC. Info: 202-546-7100

The Reagan File

Reagan wants to cut out federal subsidies to Amtrak and mass transit, but don't get the idea he's against the federal government aiding transportation. In his new budget there's $45 million to start work on development of an orbiting jetliner that could fly to Japan in two hours. Total cost of the project: $3 billion.

•

The Great Prevaricator has done it again. At a news conference last month, Reagan claimed that the workfare program instituted in California during his term as governor funneled 76,000 people "into private enterprise jobs." A state auditor general report in 1974, the last year of his term, however, said that only 9,600 people had been placed in jobs. The program was also criticized for ineffectiveness and inefficiency. And when Reagan claimed that Massachusetts' job training program is a copy of the California program, he was wrong again. California's program was a strict workfare program, whereas Massachusetts' program is designed to train welfare recipients for meaningful jobs. Some 23,000 people have found jobs through the program. Says Massachusetts governor Michael Dukakis, "Workfare has been a failure. Working off your welfare check in some public service job 20 hours a week is just not going to do it." He should know; he tried it and then junked it. Reagan's new budget would cut out the federal funds that Massachusetts has been using for its program.

•

Reagan hopped on the Martin Luther King bandwagon this January but it was a different matter just two years ago.

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On October 19, 1983, Reagan was asked about claims by Jesse Helms that King was at least a fellow traveller. Reagan's reply: "We'll know in about 35 years, won't we?"

•

In the Super Bowl of bad Reagan appointments Sidney A. Fitzwater ought to at least make it into the playoffs. Fitzwater, 32, who was nominated to a federal judgeship, was involved in a 1982 incident in which he posted signs in minority precincts in Dallas the night before the 1982 election. The signs, red and black, warned that "You Can Be Imprisoned" for violating Texas election laws, one of which, supposedly, made it a crime "to influence or try to influence a voter how to vote." The sign also warned "Don't Risk It. Obey the Law." At his confirmation hearings Fitzwater, now a state judge, maintained that all the signs' statements were in accordance with law. Says Nancy Broff, director of the Judicial Selection Project, "I would hope a sitting judge would know that the First Amendment applies in Texas."

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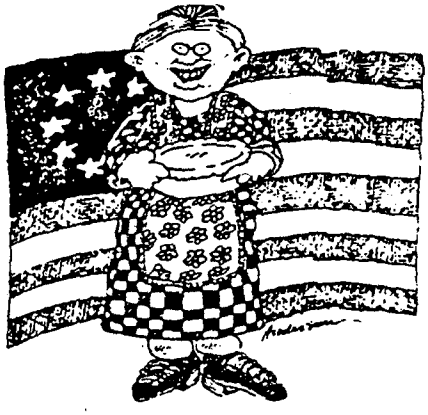

Apple Pie

Ralph Nader may be going Hollywood according to the London Standard. Reports are the consumer activist is planning a series of television docu-dramas about white-collar criminals. Nader's series will reportedly dramatize real-life tales of business corruption drawn from his own files.

•

The Soviet government says it's had enough of boorish table manners. The Communist Party has launched a campaign to teach etiquette to the proletariat. Among the advice: if you drop your fork at a dinner party, don't crawl around on the floor looking for it. If the knife is dirty, don't make a show of wiping it off before using it. If your own guests stay too long, don't open the windows to freeze them out. And this tip for the female comrades: if hubby brings home some buddies from work, serve them tea and then retire, "so as not to disturb the masculine talk."

•

A survey by a corporate-image consulting firm found that 1041 companies changed names last year... an 18 percent jump from the year before. Among the prime candidates for new names in '86: US Steel, now mainly an oil company, and American Can, which is moving into financial services.

•

Martin Luther King's birthday became a federal holiday for the first time in January, but if you got the day off, you're one of the lucky few. A national survey found only one business in six planned to observe the occasion. Hospitals, schools and government agencies are most likely to honor the holiday.

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The "Love Boat" is steering clear of the mediterranean this summer. In the wake of the *Achille Lauro* hijacking, the *Pacific Princess* has scuttled 16 planned Mediterranean cruises. A company spokesman says "the American traveler is looking elsewhere." The *Princess* will spend the summer on the Alaska run instead.

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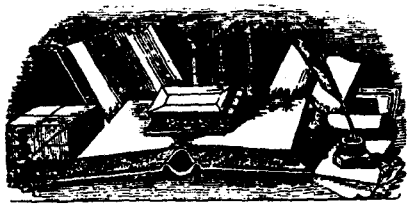
The Washington Times ran a feature on Senator Orin Hatch that said the senator "puts a big priority on his family." Elsewhere in the article it reported that he works six 16-hour days every week.



BOOKS & PUBLICATIONS

United States Pacifist Party Report: Tells of recent activities of the party including a campaign by a pacifist candidate for governor of Virginia. Info: USPP, 5729 S. Dorchester, Chicago, Ill 60637.

Institutions Etc is the journal of the National Center on Institutions and Alternatives (814 North Saint Aspaph Street, Alexandria, Va 22314). A recent issue featured articles on crime and its handling, child abuse, deterrence and the Pope and the death penalty.

American Journal of Alternative Agriculture: New journal of the Institute for Alternative Agriculture. $20 for regular subscription. IAA, 9200 Emonston Road, #117, Greenbelt, Md 20770.

National Boycott Newsletter: Quarterly filled with information on current boycotts. $2 a year from NBL, 6506 28th Avenue NE, Seattle WA 98115

Earthnet is a non-profit biweekly press reviw serving print and electronic grassroots communications on energy, ecology, Third World, and military issues. Subscriptions $15 from 8119 Highland, Kansas City, MO 64131.

Esperanto Information Center
410 Darrell Rd.
Hillsborough, CA 94010

Esperanto was devised in the late 1800's by Ludwig Zamenhof, a Russian-Polish Jew who saw linguistic barriers as a major source of human conflict. Although it has yet to achieve its intended status as a universal second language, estimates of the number of Esperanto speakers worldwide range up to a million. Because of its political and linguistic neutrality, Esperanto is finding growing favor among the developing nations of the Third World and the cultural minorities of Europe. It is also one of the few channels for international person-to-person contact tolerated by some of the more repressive regimes of Asia and Eastern Europe. Based on a simplified grammar and an international vocabulary drawn from the major European languages, Esperanto is far easier to learn than any national language. Write for more information and the first lesson in a free correspondence course.

Aveno
c/o Christopher Fettes
St. Columbia's College
Dublin 16, Republic of Ireland

The Asocio de Verduloj Esperantistaj (the "Association of Esperantist Greens") is a new organization which publishes information about Green principles and activities in the international language Esperanto and promotes the use of Esperanto for

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international communication among Green activists. Write for a sample copy of its newsletter, Aveno.

Central America Update
Box 2207 Station P
Toronto, Ontario M5S 2T2 Canada

Central America Update is a timely and comprehensive resource for information on events in Central America, especially focusing on human rights, social justice, and peace. It is a joint publication of the Latin American Working Group, and the Jesuit Centre for Social faith and Social Justice. Subscriptions ar $12/yr for six issues.

The New Age Community Guide Book
Community Referral Service
P.O. Box 2672
Eugene, OR 97402 USA

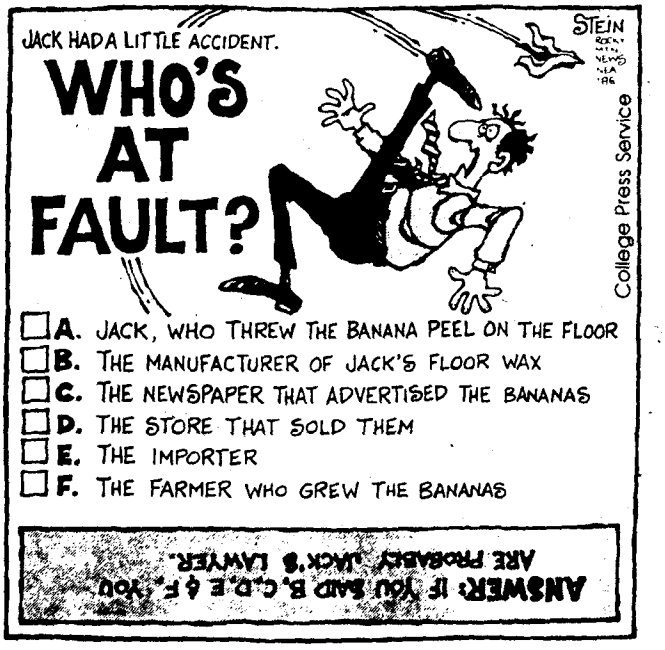
This new publication contains 26 articles on intentional communities written by members; a directory of more than 200 communities -- rural, urban, religious, Canadian and foriegn; a resource section including new age centers, educational centers, books; and other articles and information pertaining to "community." Available for $8 (US funds), Add $1 (US) for non-US orders.

THANKS TO THE
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL ECOLOGY
FOR SOME OF THE INFORMATION ABOVE

Unemployment among blacks aged 20 and older is approximately 13 percent. But the Bureau of Labor Statistics tells us that the number of people unemployment in one *year* is 2½ to 3½ times greater than the number of people unemployed in any one *month* during that year. Therefore, it is possible, and perhaps even likely, that one-third of all adult blacks will have some unemployment in 1986.

What are blacks (or whites) to do? Who will tell them about their right to collect unemployment insurance. I will. My book, *How to Collect Unemployment Benefits: Complete Information for All 50 States*, was published in two recessions (Schocken Books, 1975; Prentice Hall, 1983), and is out of print. All rights are mine.

In 1984, blacks filed about 13.8 percent of America's 19.6 million new claims for UI, around 2.7 million new claims. More people would have applied for UI, and a greater proportion of those who applied would have received UI, had a book such as mine been available. There is only one other published


JACK HAD A LITTLE ACCIDENT.
WHO'S AT FAULT?
STEIN
College Press Service
A. JACK, WHO THREW THE BANANA PEEL ON THE FLOOR
B. THE MANUFACTURER OF JACK'S FLOOR WAX
C. THE NEWSPAPER THAT ADVERTISED THE BANANAS
D. THE STORE THAT SOLD THEM
E. THE IMPORTER
F. THE FARMER WHO GREW THE BANANAS
ANSWER: IF YOU SAID B, C, D, E & F, YOU ARE PROBABLY JACK'S LAWYER.

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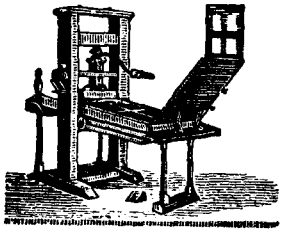
National
MARCH for
Women's Lives
March 9, 1986 Washington, D.C.
Assemble: 10 a.m. on the Mall
between 7th and 14th Sts.
Info: (202) 347-2279
Coordinated by
The National Organization for Women

book about how to collect UI, and that book does not have charts or give references.

Gramm-Rudman will not take any money away from UI because UI comes from a tax on employers, not from the U.S. Treasury. I'd like to hear from a publisher who could make the book available to black Americans, as well as to everyone else.

Raymond Avrutis
1715 P St. N.W. #404
Washington, D.C. 20036

P.S. I am unemployed.



A referendum for peace

DAVID SCHMIDT

It's time for activists to create a climate favorable to pro-peace candidates. One way — perhaps the best way — is by sponsoring a national referendum on the arms race in 1988.

Although there is no formal legal procedure for a national referendum, state and local votes on a nuclear freeze, nuclear free zones, and Jobs With Peace initiatives during the past five years have shown the feasibility of a simultaneous, coordinated referendum effort on a larger scale than the nation has ever seen.

The freeze referendum effort of 1982 enabled roughly 30 percent of the nation's voters to cast ballots on arms control questions. Not only was the outcome (60 per-

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cent favored the freeze) a great victory for the peace movement, but so was the process. The referendum campaigns created a political organizing machine that recruited and trained tens of thousands of volunteers, produced dozens of local peace groups and coalitions, and expanded and energized existing groups.

Why do it again? First of all, as a proven strategy for education, publicity and organizing, a referendum can't be beat. Where the 1982 campaigns made "nuclear weapons freeze" a household phrase, the 1988 campaigns can do the same for, say, 'comprehensive test ban" and "no-first-use." Secondly, where the 1982 campaigns were purely advisory — that is, they required no more than the sending of a letter from mayors and governors to the president — the 1988 campaigns could have, in some states, the legal teeth needed to put a bite on the arms race, such as binding laws requiring divestment of local government monies from nuclear weapons contractors. And finally, as activists at the recent Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign convention in Chicago widely agreed, the national peace groups need to go back to the grass roots to harness and unify the energies of the thousands of local peace groups which have sprung up in the last four years.

A national referendum could unite these diverse groups as never before, and it could have far greater impact than in 1982. With activists already organized in over 5000 peace groups, the issue could be on ballots in enough jurisdictions to double or even triple 1982's voter participation. Organizing and recruitment would take a quantum leap forward. And because 1988 is a presidential election year, referendums would push the issue to the forefront of delegate selection caucuses, primary elections, nominating conventions, and the fall campaign.

If a national referendum set the arms race at the top of the campaign agenda, presidential candidates would have to respond to this initiative on the peace movement's terms. This would be a dramatic reversal of 1984, when the issue of the arms race, and the movement itself, were relegated to inconsequential roles in the presidential race. Rather than play the same passive role, the movement must assume a position of influence early in the campaign — a position that can be secured by successful state and local referendum petition drives in 1987 and early 1988.

David Schmidt of the Initiative Resource Center, which is suggesting the national referendum discussed in this article, drafted a proposed referendum that is being circulated among interested groups and individuals. Comments should be directed to the center at PO Box 65023, DC 20035. The proposal is as follows:

GRITT: Gradual Reduction Initiative 2000. The United States shall halt nuclear test explosions and missile flight testing for eight months, and challenge the USSR to join in a permanent, verifiable test ban. Once a mutual test ban is verified, the United States shall initiate mutual gradual reduction of nuclear weapons by means of a 1 percent reduction in the U.S. nuclear stockpile, and a challenge to the USSR to do likewise with verification. The United States shall initiate further reductions so long as the USSR verifiably matches each reduction. The goal of such reductions shall be to reduce all nuclear arsenals 50 percent by 1995 and 99 percent by the year 2000, thus eliminating the threat of total human extinction posed by possession of nuclear arsenals with overkill capacity.

State and local referendums can also help set the issue agenda for Senate and House candidates. Even in small communities, referendums can spark enough publicity to put incumbents on the spot and boost pro-peace challengers. Activists are already experimenting with new ideas for statewide referendums this year in Oregon, Montana and Massachusetts.

A national referendum would also serve as a magnet for media coverage. It's big, new, and has a human-interest "hook," but it's not outrageous enough to alienate the general public. As petition drives are completed in each state, political commentators will be moved to speculate on the impact of the national effort. The referendum would banish the boredom of the 1984 presidential campaign, while creating an optimistic, can do atmosphere about the

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peace movement that will capture the public imagination.

The biggest obstacle to a national referendum involves legal technicalities. Procedures and deadlines for placing issues on the ballot differ from state to state and city to city, thus making standardized wording impossible. Courts have barred peace referendums from ballots in a few cases. These problems can be overcome, however, if referendum activists agree to a basic vehicle with options that can be added depending on local conditions.

For instance, every referendum could begin — and in some cases also end — with a non-binding resolution favoring reduction of nuclear arsenals, a no-first-use policy, comprehensive test ban, and an end to "Star Wars" testing and development. Options to be added might include binding provisions mandating specific state or local actions supporting these goals. Care must be taken, of course, to ensure that any binding provisions do not alienate voter support.

Another obstacle, but one which the peace movement is now well-equipped to surmount, is the required total of over six million signatures necessary to place referendums on ballots in every jurisdiction in all 50 states. Advance planning and training can shift resources sufficiently to meet local petition quotas.

Although further study is needed to ascertain the opportunities for — and roadblocks in the way of — participation in a national referendum, it is clearly within the movement's capability. Just as clearly, the movement needs a new strategy to avoid a repeat of the 1984 debacle. Considering what will be at stake in 1988, the best alternative may well be to return to the grass-roots ballots of 1982 — perhaps on a much bigger scale.

The author is executive director of the Initiative Resource Center in Washington, D.C. a non-profit clearinghouse on initiative and referendum campaigns and procedures.

This article appeared originally in Nuclear Times.

DES WILSON'S LONDON LETTER

I have a cliche of my own on the lines of "the bigger they are, the harder they fall." It is "*the smaller the problem, the more it can grow.*" Watergate was a case in point. For our beloved prime minister it is has been the Westland Affair.

You will know the basics: that two of Mrs Thatcher's ministers, Mr. Michael Hesteltine and Mr. Leon Brittan, clashed over the alternative rescue options available to the Westland helicopter company. Heseltine, whose political hypocrisy is only exceeded by his opportunism, chose to break the usual rules of collective cabinet responsibility and campaign for his option openly. The prime minister sided with Brittan.

At the peak of the battle, a letter from the solicitor general (a top law advisor to ministers) to Michael Hesteltine was leaked by the Brittan camp without the solicitor general's permission.

In the midst of the row Hesteltine resigned. When it became clear that he leaked one colleague's document without permission in order to embarrass another one, Brittan had to resign as well.

As the days went by and the Woodsteins of British journalism had a field day, the question of the prime minister's involvement in the leak was increasingly raised, until the issue reached such proportions that the prime minister had to face a special debate in the House of Commons to justify herself, not only to the opposition and to the public, but to her own members of Parliament, and even the Conservative newspapers.

She survived thanks to an inept performance by opposition leader Neil Kinnock, to a desperate need of Conservative MPs to see their leader survive in order to protect their own seats, and because the truth — that she undoubtedly did know about the leak — cannot be proved.

What is fascinating about all this is that none of it really should have mattered that much. The Westland helicopter company is hardly

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necessary for the survival of the British economy; Mrs. Thatcher has allowed other companies to collapse. Leaks by ministers for political advantage happen on a daily basis. So how did it escalate into a political crisis, and what is the longer term effect on the prime minister?

The answer to the first question lies in my cliche. It is on the small issues that the most powerful, and particularly those who wield power with the arrogance and inflexibility of Mrs. Thatcher, tend to be the most careless of the proprieties. If you wield all your considerable power on a major issue, then the power matches the issue. If you, on the other hand, use a sledgehammer to crack a nut, the use and abuse of power can be only too noticeable.

When you have the arrogance of Mrs. Thacher, and are accustomed to having your own way, you are always vulnerable to a small issue. It is then the sheer irritation that some inconsequential individual or small problem cannot be conquered like the Argentinians or starved into submission like the miners can lead you to abandon the usual conventions and reach for the sledgehammer.

The answer to the second question — what is the effect on the prime minister of the Westlands affair — is that she will never be the same. Her ability to terrify her cabinet has been weakened by the fact that she cannot afford another ministerial resignation. Her image as the woman of integrity has been severely dented. She has even undermined her crusade to create an even more secretive civil service by being seen to support leaks of information when it suited her to do so. For three weeks the iron lady was seen to preside over an administration in chaos. It will all be remembered.

When voters arrive at the polls next time, they may not have Westland on their mind, but part of their image of Mrs. Thatcher will have been fashioned by it.

Admittedly there has been no helicopter on the lawn to lift her to obscurity, as in the case of Mr. Nixon. On the other hand, No 10 Downing Street doen't have a lawn. And for that matter, we are in trouble with our helicopters.

Des Wilson is president-elect of the Liberal Party and the leader of a freedom of information campaign in Britain

A man like opening day

MARK PLOTKIN

Bill Veeck and I go way back. When I was twelve years old, my father told me that a wonderful and exciting man had just bought the Chicago White Sox and things would never be the same. I asked what's going to be different and he said: "... you'll see! Watch him!" My father was right.

In 1959, going to the ball park became an event. You never knew what was going to happen. Bill Veeck watched the game not from a private box, but roamed the park from section to section, touching and talking to the fans. Here was a big shot who was not distant nor aloof. A man who actually liked people and wanted to talk with them.

My family used to go out on Sunday nights to a South Side restaurant called Morton's. The same family-owned restaurant which has since branched out to the District of Columbia. Since it was a nice restaurant, my mother, who had a lot of class, insisted that I wear a tie. Bill Veeck also liked Morton's, and every time my family would go there, he would be there. Every man who ate at Morton's wore a tie, but one—Bill Veeck. Many times I balked, asking my mother: if Bill Veeck didn't wear a tie—why did I? My patient mother and wise grandmother told me that the rules were waived for Bill Veeck. My greatest desire then was to grow up to reach the position in life where the rules would be waived for me also.

Years late I was working for one of Gene McCarthy's presidential campaigns and by this time Veeck had sold the White Sox and, a decade later, bought them back again.

With Bill Veeck there was always room in life for renewal.

He proclaimed, in his usual populist style, that any fan could just call him up personally and talk to him. There would be no Washington-type screening. You would never hear the uncivilized "... may I ask who is calling?" nor "... is Mr. Veeck aware of the nature of your call?" One only had to dial the number and ask for Bill Veeck. I did just that.

It was late September, the White Sox were stuck in the bottom half of their division.

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Veeck, in a typical humanist act, had called up Minnie Minoso, age 50, to play a few games so he could receive a pension.

After inquiring if this was really Bill Veeck—he said, in a cheerful tone: "... you got him!" I identified myself, my position in the McCarthy campaign, and told him that since he had activated Minoso, why not put McCarthy in uniform. Immediately he asked: "Can he hit?"

I told him tht he had played a mean first base a few years back in the Great Soo League, and he was raring to go. In fact, we were prepared to alter our campaign schedule and fly to any American League City that very night.

There was a long pause and I thought for one glorious moment that maybe, just maybe, the rules were going to be waived, I had visions of the dignified white-haired McCarthy suited up in a White Sox uniform facing some fire-balling southpaw. Veeck brought me back to reality. Almost apologetically, with genuine disappointment in his voice, he answered: "Oh, I can't do it." I pressed him—" Why can't you?" He said, "Daley would kill me!"

The tributes that have come pouring in about this warm and wondrous man, tell of how he loved opening day. Opening day is always a special day. The past is forgotten. The season starts anew. All good and great things are possible. Bill Veeck was opening day. Oh! wouldn't the world be different if we were like Bill Veeck!

CHARLES McDOWELL
Attendance game

Congressional Quarterly, the weekly news service tht tells us more about Congress than you might think there is to tell, is out with one of its most tensely awaited annual tabulations — the voting participation scores.

Almost anyone can be forgiven for not knowing exactly what a voting participation score is. But the politicians know, and they worry or gloat about it a lot depending on their own scores.

A voting participation score is the percentage of recorded votes in which a member of the House or Senate participated during the past year. It also tends to be a device with which the public can be conned into believing that a member's score is a measure of his or her conscientious devotion to duty.

That noble-sounding notion is mostly bunk. Actually, the grave importance assigned to the scores by many politicians warps the whole idea of what is conscientious public service, turns national leaders into a kind of Sunday school class striving for perfect-attendance badges, and contributes mightily to the inefficiency of Congress, especially in the waste of time that strings out the sessions from January to almost Christmas.

The last probably requires some explanation. How can time be wasted when members of Congress strive to be present for votes?

Easy. The members want to spend time with their constituents, to understand and help with their concerns and, indeed, to run for re-election. They want to take trips and attend meetings that might make them more enlightened legislators. Still, they want to keep their voting scores high. So Congress arranges several long recesses during the year. And, when Congress is in session, votes are rarely taken except on Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, protecting both long weekends and voting scores.

Even so, any member often faces the choice of standing by to cast a vote on some non-controversial and remarkably trivial bill or, let us say, meeting with troubled farmers in his district, traveling to the Middle East and maybe learning something, or even walking over to the Library of Congress and reading a book.

Most members choose to cast the trivial vote most of the time. They fear not to. They dread the day when an opponent in an election accuses them of having a low voting participation score.

There is a fresh and terrifying example. Sen Walter D. Huddleston of Kentucky had a 94

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percent score in 1983 but let it slip to 77 percent in the election year of 1984. His opponent came from far behind by portraying Huddleston as a lollygagging, chronic absentee. In a famous television ad, he showed bloodhounds yapping through the wilderness looking for the "lost" senator.

Huddleston was defeated. He had let his score get very low, I must say. The average score in 1984 was 91 percent and it went up to an all-time high of 94 percent in 1985. I don't recall anybody saying 1985 was a year of high-quality work by Congress; good attendance was its claim to fame.

The champion of attendance is Rep. William Natcher of Kentucky. He has had a 100 percent record for 32 years in a row. The best Senate record belongs to William Proxmire of Wisconsin — perfect attendance for 19 years.

Nobody I know in Washington thinks an exceptionally high score is more than a minor indicator, among many, of conscientious service. After all, political effectiveness is measured by how you vote, what you contribute to legislation, whether you lead, whether you are in touch with the real concerns of your constituency and have a sense of proportion about public issues.

So let's establish 85, say, as an acceptable score, but insist that Congress do business on a five-day week and quit conning us. And when our congressman skips the vote on naming a post office in Idaho to spend a day talking with voters about something important, let's congratulate him on his sense of proportion.

Richmond Times-Dispatch

●

The Wall Street Journal reports that some nurses, tired of having to kowtow to doctors, are now setting up their own independent practices. Two nurse-partners in Elmira, New York, for example, make house calls on elderly patients who would otherwise have to sit in a hospital emergency room to get routine care. For 25 dollars per visit, the two nurses do physicals. run tests, and advise patients on their physical and mental health care needs.

The trend of "nurse-controlled nursing" is catching on, according to Cathryne Welch, executive director of the Foundation of the New York State Nurses Association, who says, "there's far more activity like this going on in this country than anyone has a handle on. A lot of it is underground activity, very humble, very modest."

CHUCK STONE
Playin' the dozens

My friend, Bette B., Christmas-gifted me with a book by my favorite stretcher of the First Amendment, Joan Rivers, "The Life and (Hard) Times of Heidie Abramowitz." Joan's ribald one-liners are outta sight. Can we talk?

"She's been mounted more often than Trigger" ... "She's been under more sheets than the Ku Klux Klan" ... "She's been on her knees more times than Billy Graham" ... "She's ..." — Hey, wait a min--nit!

My comely, comedienne is a larcenist.

Those lines don't extol Heidie Abramowitz.

They's variations on a theme about "your momma" or playin' the dozens. (On an episode of The Jeffersons, George simply snapped back at an insult with: "Yo' momma.")

"Playin' the dozens" is a contest of black verbal one-upmanship in which the contestants denigrate their parentage.

"Your mother plays third base for the Phillies" ... "You weren't born. A freight-train ran through your momma's backside and you hoboed your way here."

Then there were the rhymes. "The way he talks about your folks is a certain shame. I even heard him curse when he mentioned your grandmother's name." After that, it really got down.

Roger D. Abrahams' definitive book. "Deep Down in the Jungle Negro Narrative Folklore from the Streets of Philadelphia," explains the sociological genesis of "playin' the dozens."

The black male, especially "from the lower class, is confronted with a number of social and psychological impediments in establishing any sort of healthy identity. He is not only a black man in a white man's world, but he is a male in a [matriarchally] oriented group."

One way of establishing his identity is to join a gang and complete the transition from "mother-oriented to the gang-oriented values."

His manhood is asserted by "playin' the dozens," "sounding," "woofing" or "selling wolf tickets."

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Families aren't the only target of black verbal byplay.

Color and looks always have been fair game.

A few years ago, our family stopped at the corner of Philadelphia's South and 16th streets. A chubby, handsome black man with beautiful teeth came running out of a bar and shouted to a friend, "Hey, Leroy, there's a dude in here who's even blacker than you He's 'urple!"

Ugliness — "Man, you was so ugly when you was a baby that your momma had to put a sheet on your face so sleep could creep up on you" ... "Oh, yeah, your momma look like somethin' we feed peanuts to in the zoo" ... "Hey, I don't play that" ... "You didn't play in Count Basie's band either, but you tapped your feel to his music." (Or as we used to say, "if you grin, you're in.")

One of my all-time favorite records is "Ugly Child" sung by Johnny Mercer (a white dude who had so much soul that when he died and went to heaven, Billie Holiday, Alex Bradford and Mahalia Jackson were waiting to welcome him).

Hey, you're ugly, man, you're ugly. You're some ugly child. The clothes that you wear are not in style, you look like an ape every time you smile. How I hate you, you alligator-bait, you. Why don't lay down and die. You're knock-kneed, pigeon-toed, box-ankled, too. There's a curse in your family and it fell on you. Your hair is nappy, who's your pappy. You're some ugly child.

My mother was a woman of extraordinary beauty. So, we lovingly called her "Hogbear."

In the simian factor, "The Signifyin' Monkey" (variation of "The Lion and The Monkey") is one of many black satiric elegies, "Stagolee' ... "The Titanic" (all about "Shine," a mythical black stoker who has been mistreated on the Titanic, rejects the captain's offer of his wife and daughter, jumps overboard and swims ashore before the Titanic has sunk!).

In these ballads, the central characters are heroic Prometheans who either best the white man — or overcome insurmountable obstacles.

Nonetheless, laughing is universal. White lies and black humor are often crossovers.

Ethnic-encysted jokes can be transposed easily to another ethnicity. I do it all the time.

But I remember being surprised at my white roommates' list of "the three biggest lies ever told."

A favorite was "the check is in the mail." Black folks' three biggest black lies were funnier—and dirtier.

But, then, who's dirtier than Heidie Abramowitz?

Philadelphia Daily News

EUGENE McCARTHY My list

The annualists, the persons who evaluate years, are giving 1985 rather bad marks, marking it as a year of earthquakes, terrorism, famine, airplane crashes and other natural and man-made catastrophes. I agree with their judgement on the overall picture, but take consolation in some minor changes.

At the beginning of 1985 I made a list of ten persons, in some cases, pairs of persons, whose problems and personality difficulties should or would fade from the news.

Number one on my list was the case of Mary Cunningham and Bill Agree of the Bendix Corporation, a story of love and ambition in the world of corporate mergers and conglomerates. For better or for worse Mary and Bill have been displaced first by Ted Turner and CBS, and more recently by Penzoil, Getty and Texaco.

Number two on my list was Elizabeth Taylor and her weight problem. Reports of her weight changes in 1984 had become so frequent that I anticipated they might be included in the tv evening news statistical reports along with the Dow Jones averages and the barometric pressure. I have not seen a report on Liz's weight in at least six months.

Third, I expressed hope that there might be no more of Barbara Walter's special interviews. All is not clear on this one. There have

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been special reports, but none approaching Barbara's last of 1984 in which she, an unmarried, unpregnant and unengaged woman interviewed three women, one married and pregnant, treated as an unusual condition, an aberration — one married and not pregnant — and one pregnant and not married. According to reports, Barbara is now engaged and not pregnant. She has recently been listed as among the ten best quoiffed women in America, rated somewhere behind Joan Rivers.

My fourth wish was for the disappearance of Lee Iacocca from the news and even from his own television commercials. I have lost on this one. Although Lee was passed over — by whom I do not know — for the Vice Presidential nomination by another Italian, Geraldine Ferraro, Lee is still on television in his own company's advertisements and is occasionally mentioned by columnists desperate for material as a potential Democratic candidate for the presidency.

John DeLorean, automotive genius, was my fifth choice for disappearance. John, now divorced from the wife with whom he fought the legal battle, seems to have had it.

At the end of 1984 I expressed a willingness to call the Ferraro–Zaccaro case closed. It has not quite been closed. It has continued in court and has been, according to Mrs. Ferraro, a factor in her deciding not to run for the Senate seat in New York. Geraldine meanwhile is pitching an ad for Pepsi Cola and Motherhood.

My next three wishes, that Gloria Steinem (or at least her reflections on life after fifty), Frank Sinatra, and the Gabor sisters would be retired from the news have, been fulfilled beyond my reasonable expectations. And on Claus von Bulow, whom I hoped would be left to the tabloids, more than I hoped for has been accomplished. Even the tabloids have lost interest in him.

I would say that on my ten most unwanted news persons, the year has given me a victory in the range of seven to three.

Nicaragua and the Bay of Pigs

MICHAEL ROBBINS

Twenty-five years ago President John F. Kennedy's underestimation of popular support for the Cuban Revolution led directly to the fiasco known as the "Bay of Pigs." His miscalculations on Vietnam were even more costly. Today, President Reagan's escalating war in Nicaragua threatens to replay those ignominious chapters of American history.

During a recent two-week visit to Nicaragua, I found that all of the citizens I spoke with — in Managua, Esteli, Condega, and Masachpa — viewed the FDN, the main contra group, as a mercenary invading force made up of former Somoza National Guard. Even those who oppose the Sandinistas viewed the contras as the instrument of US imperialism. Having spent six months in Nicaragua over the last two years, it is clear to me that the vast majority of Nicaraguans recall that the United States supported 46 years of the Somoza dynasty, and therefore they are reluctant to believe that the "gringos" could today have the Nicaragua people's best interests at heart.

"Look," one shop owner told me, "I don't like the Sandinistas. They are lousy administrators and want too much control of importing and exporting. But I will never support the contras. Look at their methods: killing innocent people, burning crops and buildings, stealing like a bunch of bandits."

A middle-aged woman, once an active supporter of the Sandinista party, today criticizes the government for too much bureaucracy, abuse of privileges, and poor economic planning. Yet what if the contra forces show up in the foothills near her small town? "I will pick up my gun like every other patriotic Nicaraguan and protect our sovereignty--to the end. This is our process."

Given such sentiment and the fact that 63 percent of the population voted for the Sandinistas in the November 1984 election, the majority of Nicaraguans appear quite disposed to protect their independence from outside aggression. This sense of nationalism--which is obvious to most of the 40,000 US citizens who have visited Nicaragua since the 1979 re-

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volution--is a fact that seems to have escaped administration policymalers.

How is it possible--in the 1960s in Cuba and Vietnam, and now in Nicaragua--that the most sophisticated and experienced intelligence gathering agencies, military analysts, and foreign policy bureaucracy cannot accurately determine the political climate of a revolutionary country? Are US policymarkers blinded by their own preconceptions and values? Why cannot they accurately gauge the subjective view of people in other cultures? Has anti-communism and its by-product, crisis mentality, so skewed the policy apparatus that it cannot evaluate hard data?

Policymakers have assumed that, because the Sandinista regime looks to them Marxist-Leninist, the Nicaraguan people must be anxiously waiting to throw off their Sandinista oppressors. Never mind that, to many Nicaraguans, the mixed economy, the preponderance of private property, the participation of priests in the government, and the existence of diverse political parties do not add up to the Marxist-Leninist picture administration officials paint.

A number of vital facts get overlooked in this mode of reasoning. The Nicaraguan peasant who has received land, health care, literacy training, greater access to credit, and technical assistance under the Sandinista regime is not likely to want to return to the past. The Nicaraguan worker whose barrio today has electricity and running water, whose wages increase with inflation, who is involved in a labor union for the first time, and whose children have access to education at every level is likely to defend the Nicaraguan revolution. While such persons do not make up all of Nicaragua's population, they do form the vast majority.

The inability to take off the blinders of virulent anti-communism and reckon with the participants' view resulted in misreading the Cuban people in 1961. In Vietnam, it resulted in the useless death of the more than 50,000 young North American men and as many as two million Vietnamese. Policymakers appear once again unable to accept the reality of popular support for the forces of change and revolution.

Michael Robins is a Research Associate at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C.. ★ IPS.

How Italian cities reindustrialized

C. RICHARD HATCH

The United States continues to lose blue-collar jobs at an alarming rate. Since January, 1985, we have lost 250,000 factory jobs; since 1980, 900,000. Third world competition, rising energy costs, a strong dollar, high wages, and rigid union rules are all offered as explanations for the decline of American manufacturing. Most American cities have given up on industry and look to services, such as banking and insurance, to relieve unemployment and replenish dwindling revenues.

But there is no need to give up on manufacturing or to abandon hope for blue-collar jobs--as the recent reindustrialization of Italian cities like Bologna and Modena shows. Faced a decade ago with factory closings and mass unemployment, these cities today enjoy the highest standard of living in Italy. In ten years industrial employment has grown 50 percent. Nearly half of all jobs are now in manufacturing (compared to a declining 20 percent in the U.S.). Public and private entrepreneurship saved the day.

In 1973, when the first oil shock occurred, labor disputes, low productivity and relatively high wages had already made Italian firms vulnerable to overseas competition and shrinking export markets. Particularly affected were the agricultural machinery and machine tool sectors, as well as textiles and other low-priced consumer goods. Traditional mass production firms were in crisis.

The economic resurgence of Italy's central region is based on very small, flexible enterprises organized around multiple-use, automated machinery. These tiny shops are essentially intermediate producers, which link together in varying combinations and patterns and form networks to carry out complex manufacturing tasks for world markets. Frequent subcontracting within networks makes it easy to upgrade product specifications and even change product lines rapidly in response to market signals. There are now nearly 500,000 small firms in the region. In the cities, the density reaches the level of one firm for every five members of the labor force. The vast majority of the owners and managers of

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these new enterprises are former factory workers.

The story of the humble hay baler tells how the system works. Industry in the rich Po Valley area has traditionally been oriented toward agriculture. When demand for farm machinery fell sharply in the early 1970's, a large number of experienced workers were laid off. Some found niches repairing and modifying local farmers' equipment. This close contact revealed that the locally produced hay balers designed for world export in fact were not well suited to Po Valley conditions. An entrepreneurial local worker conceived an improved model. Since he and his associates were incapable of making such a complex item, they subcontracted all the parts except the transmission, which they themselves made. They also assembled and marketed the hay balers. The varied capabilities of the small shops in this manufacturing network enables them today to produce numerous precisely tailored models. The original shop has become a factor in the world market for hay balers, and many of the small firms that supply it now design, assemble and market other innovative farm equipment themselves.

Development of this system of flexible network manufacturing is encouraged by local and regional governments. Cities provide affordable workspaces in converted factory buildings and mini-industrial parks, which frequently incorporate housing and community facilities. Local schools turn out well-trained apprentices and keep shop owners technologically up-to-date through evening study programs. Publicly subsidized research and service centers provide crucial assistance in product innovation, technology transfer, and export marketing.

The Italian model is useful socially as well as economically. The emphasis on innovation and quality means that experimentation and education are encouraged. There is continual upward movement as former apprentices open their own firms. Rigid work rules make no sense where machine operators must contribute willingly to the constant revision of processes and products if the shops are to prosper. And the knowledge that one's employee is a neighbor today and possibly a colleague-competitor tomorrow further softens relations between owners and workers.

The basic features of this Italian industrial system are very much in the American grain. It stresses entrepreneurship, self-employment, the pleasure of making things, creative challenges, and good pay. Flexible network production is an intelligent response to the loss of mass production industry and the jobs it provided. In New York City, which, like most of the Northeast, suffers from severe industrial unemployment, the only manufacturing sector that added employment last year was the garment industry--itself a network and a demonstration that such systems can work here.

Entrepreneurial training, affordable space, and specialized business services can be the organizing principles for small firm production in American cities. The key services needed to help manufacturing networks coalesce and grow are marketing know-how, engineering expertise, and equipment leasing. These can be provided through cooperation among city governments, trade associations, technological universities, and public-spirited investors.

In Italy, motorcycles, knitwear, shoes, and avant-garde furniture, as well as hay balers and computer-controlled machines, now are made by small firm networks. A new emphasis on "out-sourcing" in major American industries such as automobile and computer manufacturing is creating opportunities for network formulation here--in metalworking, plastic forming, robotics, and electronics. Cities can also target their purchasing programs to nurture new enterprises--creating jobs, as well as supplying the needs of their schools, hospitals, and other institutions. A strategy to reduce our reliance on imports, based on small firm networks, could be the shortest route to quality jobs for more Americans.

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C. Richard Hatch, A.I.A., is Professor of Architecture at the New Jersey Institute of Technology, and editor of The Scope of Social Architecture (Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1984).

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SOUTH AFRICA: From protest to revolution

A.B. BABU

LONDON -- If 1985 was the year of black protest in South Africa, 1986 will be the year of black revolution.

Enough has happened this past year to convince anyone who follows events in that unfortunate country that they constitute a viable prelude to a bloody revolution.

First, there were the hesitant, entirely spontaneous mass riots which began in the black township of Uitenhage but quickly spread to most other townships. They indicate that the mood of the oppressed blacks has shifted from submissive protest to rebellion -- a key first step to revolution.

Secondly, what had started as uncoordinated mass violence against local authority has, in just the last few months, turned into a general uprising, organized almost entirely at the grassroots level.

Thirdly, this uprising, which started as a protest by the youth, has brought an unprecedented political awakening to the black community outside the bantustans. Thus, lacking the most elementary means of technological communication, activists are nevertheless able to rally thousands at short notice and have just succeeded in eliminating traditional Christmas celebrations in Soweto.

Finally, the uprising has brought about a unity of all non-white groups who, until recently, had been at loggerheads. And for the first time in their history, black labor unions have come together as a united body, with far-reaching potential for industrial action to supplement street protest.

On the other hand, the white rulers are showing signs of desperation in the face of these developments. As the riots are getting nearer to the white neighborhoods, and as white casualties steadily mount insecurity among the whites is spreading. The boycott of white shops by blacks is proving to be a serious economic blow to the small, white entrepreneurs, some of whom are now beginning to think of leaving the country.

The government will undoubtedly resort to more force to reassure its supporters that it is still in command. But white violence will be met by more black counter-violence, making the already bloody situation bloodier.

At the same time, Pretoria will be forced to look inward as it grows more isolated internationally. Only two countries -- the U.S. and the United Kingdon -- stand in the way of a UN mandatory economic sanction which, if put into effect, would further cripple South Africa's economy.

This, of course, would intensify white disgruntlement and weaken the political power base of the regime. Already, voluntary sanction by some European countries is hurting the economy seriously.

In the meantime, there is a serious division of opinion within the ruling National party between those who call for less violent methods, and those who think that the only way to handle Africans effectively is through the indiscriminate use of violence. The latter are likely to gain an upper hand, given the frustrated and angry mood of the Afrikaners.

Rule by white supremacists will split the white population right down the middle, which will mark the beginning of the end of white hegemony in the country.

The antagonism on the economic front between multinational and local business is also intensifying as the recession deepens. The multinational corporations are increasingly using their economic muscle to press for more political reform, while through their advanced business techniques and unlimited capital, they undermine

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ADA VOTING RECORD

Here are the top-ranked senators based on ADA's 1985 voting record. There were 21 senators with a voting record of 80% or better this year compared with 24 last year. Those dropped from top-ranked position were Bingaman who went from 100% to 70%, Weicker (90% to 70%), Mitchell (90% to 65%), Sasser(90% to 60%), Biden (85% to 75%), Ford (80% to 50%), and Cohen (85% to 35%). Those added to the list this year are shown in bold-face.

100% RATING
Cranston, **Hart, Harkin,,** Sarbanes, Metzenbaum
95% RATING
Inouye, Matsunga, Riegle, Pell
90% RATING
Eagleton, Lautenberg, Moynihan
85% RATING
Dodd, Simon, Kennedy, **Kerry,** Levin, Melcher, Bradley, **Burdick**
80% RATING
Pryor

At the opposite end, here's a list of the worst senators based on the ADA voting record. These 40 senators scored 20% or lower:

Denton, Murkowski, Stevens, Goldwater, Wilson, Armstrong, Roth, Hawkins, Mattingly, McClure, Symms, Lugar, Quayle, Grassley, Dole, McConnell, Long, Boschwitz, Cochran, Danforth, Hecht, Laxalt, Humphrey, Rudman, Domenici, D'Amato, East, Helms, Nickles, Thurmond, Abnor, Pressler, Gramm, Garn, Hatch, Trible, Warner, Kasten, Simpson, Wallop.

HOUSE

In the House, 20 members scored 100% up from 10 last year. Here are the 100 percenters:
Berman(CA), Clay (Mo), Edgar (Pa), D Edwards (CA), Evans (IL), Frank(MA), Hayes(ILL), Wheat(MO), Ackerman(NY), Kastenmeier(WI), Weiss(NY), Leland (TX), Levine(CA), Lowry(WA), Markey(MA), Mitchell(MD), Rodino(NJ), Savage(IL), Studds(MA), Yates(Il)

Here by state are the House members ranking 80% or higher:

ARIZONA: Udall
CALIFORNIA: Matsui, Burton, Boxer, Miller, Dellums, Stark, Edwards, Mineta, Coelho, Lehman, Beilenson, Waxman, Roybal, Berman, Levine, Dixon, Hawkins, Martinez, Dymally, G Brown, Bates
COLORADO: Schroeder
CONNECTICUT: Kennelly, Gejdenson, B.Morrison
FLORIDA: Lehman
ILLINOIS: Hayes, Savage, Collins, Yates, L Evans
INDIANA: Visclosky, Jacobs
IOWA: Bedell
KENTUCKY: Perkins
MARYLAND: Mikulski, Mitchell, Barnes
MASSACHUSETTS: Early, Frank, Atkins, Mavroules, Markey, Moakley, Studds, Donnelly
MICHIGAN: Wolpe, Kildee, Traxler, Bonier, Crockett, Hertel, W. Ford, Dingle, Levin
MINNESOTA: Vento, Sabo, Oberstar
MISSOURI: Clay, Wheat
MONTANA: P Willams
NEW JERSEY: Florio, Howard, Dwyer, Rodino, Guarini
NEW YORK: Downey, Mrazek, Ackerman, Scheuer, Schumer, Towns, Owens, Solarz, Rangel, Weiss, Garcia, McHugh, Nowak
OHIO: Seiberling, Traficant, Oakar, Stokes
OREGON: AuCoin, Weaver
PENNSYLVANIA: Foglietta, Gray, Borski, Edgar, Kostmayer, Coyne
RHODE ISLAND: Schneider
TENNESSEE: H Ford
TEXAS: Leland, Gonzalez
WASHINTON: Bonker, M Lowry
WEST VIRGINIA: Rahall
WISCONSIN: Kastenmeier, Moody, Obey

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local, mainly Boer, small businesses.

These businesses are mostly joint state-private enterprises formed after the Boers came to power in 1948 to help safeguard Boer business in the face of multinational corporate capital and divert it from agriculture to industry. They are an intrinsic part of Afrikaans nationalism with strong backing from the state.

The ensuing conflict between government and multinational corporations will further isolate the Botha regime internationally, and lessen the inflow of essential foreign investments.

Thus, the growing militancy of the blacks on the one hand, and the weakening of the government's capacity to rule in the old way on the other, are becoming the two essential ingredients for social revolution.

The Iranian experience just before the overthrow of the Shah is ominously similar to what we are seeing happen now in South Africa. The Shah's government was very powerful but lost touch with the people. The streets were full of demonstrations which no one thought would be strong enough to topple the regime, and yet it happened, just like that.

The riots of 1985 will probably be known in history as the rehearsal for the revolution of 1986. The difference between early 1985 and now is that the blacks have set a definite political agenda for themselves. Increasingly, they are no longer interested in merely sharing power; they want to take power themselves.

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Ralph Nader has launched a new campaign against "widespread fleecing" of the public by computerized billing systems. Nader says a preliminary five-month study reveals hospitals, car repair shops and phone companies are the worst offenders. He's looking for more examples of billing mistakes to convince congress to pass a law protecting consumers. The address: Bills Project, P.O. Box 1736, Santa Monica, California 90406.

Black America's hidden family

LOUIS FREEDBERG

For two decades policy-makers, seeking for deeper causes of black poverty, have made the disintegration of the black family a national stereotype.

Yet though close to half of all black families are headed by single parents, blacks have also developed a different and more resilient structure for warding off crises: a strongly knit extended family often spread from coast to coast.

And those networks of relatives survive even though government has barely recognized their existence, much less bolstered them with aid programs, many researchers and family workers say.

Luanna Jackson (not her real name) is 17, and lives in Oakland, California with her parents -- but her grandmother's house in the tiny Louisiana town of Natchitoches is a kind of second home.

When she was six she moved with her parents from Louisiana to California. Five years later, when her parents' marriage hit a rough spot, "the next thing I knew I was back with my grandmother," she recalls. One day her father called to say she should come back to Oakland, where Jackson stayed with her aunt for about two months, until the two clashed over discipline. She eventually moved back with her parents, who have reconciled.

But it is to her grandmother that Jackson turns during difficult times. "I just call her when I'm feeling bad," she says. "I can talk to her better than I can to my own mother."

Relatives living in far-flung places often gather at the grandmother's house, bought by her children. "Everyone is close to my grandmother. Back there we saw everybody." Jackson, now a high school senior, is applying to colleges in Louisiana.

Jackson's experience is familiar to social workers and

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psychologists who report that in black families more often than white ones, if a child is having trouble with school or the law, if parents are not getting along, or if a parent can no longer take care of children, relatives step in to fill the breach -- even if they live out of state.

In 1965 Harvard sociologist Daniel P. Moynihan (now a U.S. Senator) published a report that set the tone for much black-oriented policy to follow. Its central thesis: "...the heart of the deterioration of the failure of the Negro society is the deterioration of the Negro family."

But Moynihan and other sociologists may have mistakenly focused on the two-parent family as the standard measure of family stability. Some researchers now say that having a single parent does not necessarily mean one is shut off from family support.

"As people are poorer families become more valuable," says Carol Stack, an anthropologist at Duke

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NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL

December 17, 1985

The Honorable Edwin Meese
Attorney General of the United States
Department of Justice
Washington, D.C. 20530

Dear General Meese:

This is a formal offer to purchase the Department of Justice or, in the alternative, its Civil Rights Division.

We believe, consistent with President Reagan's recent proposal to sell the Federal Housing Administration to private interests, that we can make an attractive offer which will satisfy your interest in divesting the government of unwanted responsibilities and at the same time restore a healthy balance sheet to your Civil Rights division, whose liabilities now exceed its assets to a degree that has longterm investors in justice very worried.

We are only the principals in a broadly-based group of investors and would be pleased to meet with you to discuss the details of our proposal.

We look forward to your response.

Sincerely,

Ira Glasser

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University and author of "All Our Kin," a widely acclaimed study of black family networks in Illinois. "For the most part the single parent is still immersed in the extended family."

That "elaborated social structure" gives a black child an essential "base of support," echoes sociologist Troy Duster of the University of California at Berkeley.

Extended family ties seem to be as strong among middle class blacks as among the poor. It is not unusual for more affluent blacks in cities elsewhere to send their children to the South for summer vacations, or even to attend high school. "Families in the urban north see themselves as satellites to the rural family," drawing "spiritual renewal" from relatives closer to the land, says Stack.

Stereotypes to the contrary, this enduring extended family structure -- born of the ethic that blacks must take care of their own -- has actually lessened the burden that blacks place on government sponsored social programs.

Kin networks are a large reason why a smaller percentage of black children are placed in foster homes or put up for adoption than whites, and fewer older blacks are placed in nursing homes.

Placing a child in foster homes can cost the government nearly $100,000 from infancy to adolescence, points out Dr. Edward Zigler, Sterling Professor of Psychology at Yale and former head of the federal government's Children's Bureau. "Sometimes what stands in the way of a family member taking care of a child might be $1,000 to cover the cost of clothes and an extra bed," he says.

That kind of aid is not to be found, however. "In terms of support for the extended family, (federal assistance) is just non-existent," says Bernice Weissbourd, president of Family Focus, a Chicago-based non-profit organization. "There has to be a recognition that if families are going to support themselves, they are going to have to get some kind of help.

"A mother will get funding for day-care for her child, but if she puts the child into the home of her own mother, she doesn't get any funding for it," says Weissbourd.

One advantage black families have, says anthropologist Stack, is that having a family member take care of one's children is not viewed negatively. For blacks, "it's not an insult or a proof of failure for a kid to stay with an aunt. Parents know that at some time they may have to take care of the aunt's children."

Extended family networks may be strengthened by the recent return of blacks to Southern states as economic conditions in northern cities worsen. Between 1970 and 1980, 90,000 black adults and children returned to North Carolina alone. And modern technology, like buses, jets and telephones, make it easier than ever for black children to find a calm port among relatives whenever a storm hits at home.

When 17-year-old Tammy Kirk's parents divorced five years ago, she went to live with her aunt and then her sister while her parents tried to decide who should have custody of the children. The Oakland senior now stays permanently with her sister.

Kirk (not her real name) visits her mother across town several times a week. And her father, who moved to Dallas, calls her three times a week at exactly 7:30 in the evening. "Nobody better be on the phone when he calls." Aside from that, she says, "It's been a pretty good arrangement, and I'm not in the middle of something I don't want to be."

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Louis Freedberg is an anthropologist specializing in youth issues.

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The $800 million mistake

PAUL MARKOWITZ

The prophets of shortage are back. In the late 1970's, the utility industry warned that unless more coal or nuclear power plants were ordered immediately, the country would be facing electric power shortages. Now PEPCO is howling about impending blackouts in the Washington D.C. area unless a new coal-fired power plant is built in the immediate future. Yet, PEPCO and the D.C. Public Service Commission are blatantly ignoring cheaper alternatives.

Apparently, PEPCO has not learned from recent history in the electric utility industry. During the last 12 years, utilities have canceled 180 proposed power plants that have cost consumers billions of dollars, and the real costs (above inflation) of constructing nuclear and coal power plants increased each year by 14 percent and 8 percent, respectively. Rate increases resulting from costly power plants are expected to increase consumers' utility bills 50% to 100% and adversely affect 35 million families in 25 states.

PEPCO cannot determine that constructing a new power plant is the most cost-effective option for meeting new electrical demand because it has failed to examine a wide range of utility financed conservation programs. Financial programs designed to stimulate *customer efficiency* investments provide reliable electrical service at a fraction of the cost of electricity generated from new power plants.

The potential for energy efficiency improvements is enormous. For instance, a study recently conducted by the University of Texas (Austin) for the Texas Public Utilities. Commission estimated that air conditioning needs could be reduced by 50% through a variety of conservation methods, providing electricity for one fifth to one-half the cost of it coming from a new power plant.

Utility financed conservation programs are currently being offered by hundreds of utilities nationwide. For instance, Pacific Gas and Electric (California), the nation's largest private utility, pays commercial, industrial and agricultural customers up to $150,000 to convert to energy-saving equipment and products. Rebates are offered to defray 25%–40% of the purchase and conversion costs for such equipment as lighting, industrial motors, refrigerators and freezers, heating system conversions and modifications, and load management controls. The utility willingly pays customers for saved energy up to its costs of generating electricity from new power plants.

General Public Utilities (Pennsylvania and New Jersey) has developed an alternative financing program for home weatherization, whereby contractors install cost-effective conservation measures free of charge to homeowners and the utility pays the contractor for the actual measured long-term reductions in energy consumption. The customer is charged nothing and makes no payments for this entire service. Energy savings from the program are expected to exceed costs by a ratio of five to one over a ten year period.

PEPCO, however, has been oblivious to the success of other utility conservation programs. Instead, the utility proposed a $98 million rate request (which was recently denied by the D.C. commission) for a load management program, designed to shift electrical load from peak to slack demand periods. While the proposal was at least a step in the right direction, it was extremely expensive, showed little market planning, and relied upon imposing controls for shifting customer load rather than providing incentives for increasing their energy efficiency.

Moreover, PEPCO has opposed offering financial incentives for customer efficiency

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programs. In formal proceedings before the commission, the utility has argued that utility financed conservation programs do not fall within the definition of "public utility service" and therefore fall outside the authority of the D.C. Public Service Commission to require these investments. However, the issue is not whether an activity is strictly "utility service," but whether conservation programs lessen the cost of electrical service.

Unfortunately, the D.C. commission accepted this narrow interpretation of its regulatory powers and has refused to require PEPCO to make these investments. By comparison, a study Public Citizen recently conducted finds that over two-thirds of state public utility commissions now require utilities to provide financial incentives to stimulate customer investments in conservation. Many of these commissions have specific statutory authority to require utility conservation programs. However, legal opinions by utility commissions throughout the country clearly indicate that commissions' broad regulatory powers to ensure adequate and reasonable service provide a sufficient legal basis for requiring utilities to finance conservation programs.

In light of these rulings, made on the basis of almost identical statutory provisions, a careful examination of the D.C. Code reveals that the D.C. Public Service Commission does in fact have a sufficient regulatory authority for requiring utilities to invest in energy conservation.

Meanwhile, D.C. ratepayers are caught in a Catch-22. PEPCO chooses not to examine cheaper alternatives, such as conservation,

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE IN D.C.

- Only people who are temporarily disabled and therefore unable to work, and families with dependent children may receive General Public Assistance or Aid to Families with Dependent Children.
- Income from these two programs are currently $206 per month for one person, $257 for a family of two, and $327 for a family of three. Public Assistance benefits are paid for entirely by the District; AFDC is paid for both by the District and the Federal Government in a 50:50 ratio, though levels are set by the District.
- Measured in constant dollars, the District's 1985 AFDC payment level represents a *decrease of 35%* in purchasing power compared to 1969 levels.
- The 1985 federal poverty level for a 3 person family is $8,850. The District's 1985 AFDC payment of $3,924 amounts *to only 44% of the federal poverty* level.
- Between 1980 and 1985, 17 states increased AFDC payments at a higher rate than did the District. Among states with smaller increases in payment levels, 19 already provided higher payments than D.C. in both 1980 and 1985.
- In 1985, the District of Columbia *ranks 26th* in AFDC payment level for a family of 3 persons with an annual payment of $3,924.
- In 1984, the average family of three on AFDC received in addition to a $300 monthly payment, $161 in food stamps. At an annual total of $5,532 this is 65.4% of the federal poverty level.
- The city council recently granted a 7% increase to those on public assistance. This amounts to an average of $14 a month per person.

Source: Coalition on Financial Accountability; National Social Science and Law Center.

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and the commission cannot determine if PEPCO's proposed power plant will be cost-effective unless the utility chooses to examine the alternatives.

Public pressure, lead by such organizations as the D.C. Consumer's Utility Board and the Office of People's Counsel, will be necessary to motivate the D.C. Public Service Commission to require PEPCO to investigate and invest expeditiously in the most cost-effective resources for meeting new demand, expecially utility-financed conservation programs. Otherwide, ratepayers will find themselves paying $800 million (or more) for an uneconomic and unneeded power plant.

Paul Markowitz is a policy analyst for Public Citizen's Critical Mass Energy Project.

Problems with the prison

DAVID CLARKE

Senator Arlen Spector has been pushing the District to build a new prison, and Mayor Barry has agreed. The Council has created a commission to consider the question of whether to build a new prison, and, if so, where it ought to go.

The commission recently indicated that it was not all that sure that a new prison was the best way to alleviate overcrowding. A rising crescendo of criticism was thrown its way. The *Washington Post* reporter who regularly covers the story described the citizen members of the Board, none of whom are bleeding-heart liberals, as a "latter-day Don Quixote" "tilting at windmills." She charged that they were "charging in vain at a giant, immovable enemy" (Mayor Barry and Sen. Spector) "in apparent oblivion of the futility of their efforts." The *Post* editorial board was a little more respectful in its language but came to the same conclusion; there was no issue of whether but only of where.

The commission has held its ground however. So it is a good time to ask "Is the building of a new prison in the District a foregone conclusion?" I believe that, if one closely examines the common assumptions upon which this "foregone conclusion" is based, he or she will conclude that the commission is not only doing a job which it was asked to do but a job which needs to be done.

The most common assumption is that new space will alleviate overcrowding. It is an assumption that has a simple logic to it, i.e. that a certain mass will fit more loosely into a larger space than a smaller one.

The difficulty in this issue is the certainty of the mass. National experience shows that it is not all that certain and that the mass tends to expand to overfill the space allotted to it. Between 1980 and 1984, America built 100,000 more beds but incarcerated 135,000 more people. "The more we build, the more we remain crowded", said Allen Breed, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency. The District has added approximately 1,880 beds since 1980 (at a cost of $30.6 million) and still finds them overcrowded.

Another common assumption is that, if there is no more room, persons who need to be put into prison will be released for want of space. This is not so in the District where persons sentenced to prison are sentenced to the custody of the United States Attorney General who has available to him or her the entire federal prison system. Indeed, to my knowledge the federal government, has never denied an intent to put into the new prison persons from the District now in the federal system. If this is done, it will provide some relief to the federal system, but it will not alleviate overcrowding within the District's system.

Another common assumption is that, because the federal government has offered land and construction costs, a new prison will not cost the District taxpayer anything. This assumption ignores the cost of operating the new prison which will be far greater than the amortization of the capital costs and which the District taxpayer will have to pay. Are the federal government's efforts in this regard are to really alleviate overcrowding and protect the public safety or are they rather designed to transfer a budgetary burden for an existing service to the District?

The senator, mayor, and *Post* have another assumption common to them but not necessarily shared by the community and that is that, even if built, the new prison must be

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located within the District of Columbia. Why? Why is Lorton, the site of our present facility, being overlooked? There are 1800 unused acres of land there dedicated to prison usage. If humane consideration for the prisoner is the hallmark of this effort, would not the average square footage, both residential and programmatic, provided for each inmate be far greater there than at most sites in the city? Even if the "giant, immovable enemy" described by the *Post* were to ultimately prevail, should not the city at least wage the fight to use land already dedicated to prison usage?

Related to the assumption that persons in the presently overcrowded Lorton facility will be those going into the new facility is the assumption that those going into the new facility will be men. This is because those in Lorton now are all men. Why should this necessarily be so? For years, women from the District who have been sentenced to more than one year have all been shipped off to Alderson, West Virginia. If we are to build a new prison, and particularly if it is to house those who are already in the federal system, should not the new prison be dedicated to women? A few years ago, the council amended a budget to provide for new space at Lorton for the women then at Alderson, but the mayor later claimed the space had to be used to alleviate overcrowding among the men. Today the men are even more overcrowded, and the women are still in West Virginia.

All of this is to say that there are some serious questions which should be answered before a new prison is built in the District. They are the same kinds of questions which the National Clearinghouse for Criminal Justice Planning and Architecture has emphasized must be answered before reasonable decisions can be made on prison construction. They are the kinds of questions which approximately eighteen states have committed to commissions like ours in efforts to avoid ineffective responses.

I believe that the Commission on Correctional Facilities deserves our gratitude and not our condemnation for looking at these questions.

David Clarke chairs the DC City Council.

The Capital Area Community Food Bank is looking for volunteers. The food bank, located at 2266 25th Place NE, is open from 9 to 4 daily. Info: 526-5344.

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A new watchdog group has been formed in Maryland to keep an eye on the state's banks, insurance companies and davings & loans. Financial Consumers Association is a coalition that includes the Maryland Citizens Action Coalition, the Maryland S&L Depositors Association, the Baltimore NAACP, Bank Watch and the Maryland Public Interest Group.

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The Carter Woodson Center, in danger of being sold at auction for nonpayment of real estate taxes and other debts, has been saved by a fund-raising campaign that brought in $40,000 in three weeks. The center, at 1401 14th NW, is the home of the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History, and is the repository for black historical records some going back several hundred years. The association was founded 70 years ago by Carter G. Woodson.

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Rewriting the constitution

A task force has come up with a series of changes in the proposed constitution for New Columbia that should mitigate some of the controversy that document has created. The task force was created in the wake of the first congressional hearings on statehood for DC and included Charles Cassell, Richard Clark, Josephine Butler, Alexa Freeman, Johnny Barnes, Dale McIver and Garland Pinkston.

To some, having a small group rewrite a constitution painfully conceived by a convention and approved by the voters of DC, may seem a bit presumptious, but the dilemma that statehood supporters faced was that either DCers would rewrite the constitution or Congress would. The hope was to come up with something that would limit the likelihood of the constitution being used as excuse for not dealing with statehood.

What the task force has done seems a practical way of moving the statehood issue off dead-center. We do wonder what all the whooping and hollering was about at the constitutional convention, but that's all paper through the copying machine now. The important thing at the moment is to remind Congress (and ourselves) that we are still living in a colony of the United States and proceed to do something about it.

The changes remove or soften some of the high-flying promises of the constitution's bill of rights —some of which waved a red flag in front of Congress and some of which would be damn difficult to achieve (such as the right to employment or a guaranteed income). While the employment right was simply removed, in other cases wordy rights were shortened and simplified. For example, a three paragraph section on the right of privacy was changed to "All persons shall enjoy the right of privacy, a right which shall not be infringed."

In another case, the convention got a bit carried way and provided for a bank to provide loans to those "who are unable to obtain loans" from any other source — presumably including confirmed deadbeats and crooks. This was changed to provide for the establishment of a financial institution to "facilitate" the issuance of loans. Another controversial section, guaranteeing the right of public employees to strike was limited to those who perform non-essential functions and permits this right to be abridged in cases of a compelling governmental interest.

In all, the editing job on the constitution has been a good one and may help concentrate attention on the main matter: statehood itself. Letters to House District Committee chair Ronald V. Dellums would certainly help at this time.

In a somewhat hopeful development, the Coalition for Self-Determination, which led the futile battle for a constitutional amendment and which has never taken a stand on statehood, has now established a statehood committee. This will allow those constituent members of the coalition who support statehood to have forum for their activities while waiting for other members, such as the ever-lagging League of Women Voters, to catch up to them.

Is Barry vulnerable?

With new scandals cropping up with almost boring repetition, some people are beginning to think that Marion Barry might be defeated. David Clarke and John Wilson were both reported last month to be sounding out potential supporters and contributors for a possible run for mayor.

If Barry's troubles had stopped with the Donaldson affair, his oft-displayed self-confidence might have been justified. But just in the past month,

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You paid the difference

PROPERTY	ASSESSED VALUE	SALE PRICE	DIFFERENCE
	All values in millions		
Hecht's downtown	$12.1	$47.6	393%
Kresge downtown	$1.0	$2.0	200%
20 Mass Ave NW	$21	$40	190%
425 I NW	$16	37.5	234%
1346 Conn Ave NW	$12.6	$19.5	155%

the Washington Times has reported that federal investigators were looking into how the National Bank of Washington won several major contracts from the city and how the funds were managed. A former top finance official at DC General was also said to be under federal investigation, as was the office of Deputy Mayor Alphonse Hill.

For Barry's political future there was a reminder of what Henry Thoreau said: "Some circumstantial evidence is pretty strong, as when you find a trout in the milk."

And those who know how business has been done in this town over the past few years are not expecting the US Attorney to lose interest in DC affairs.

What this means is that there is a real possibility that, by election time, Barry could be beaten. Because it is only a possibility, though, there is considerable risk in betting on it, yet enough opportunity for some politicians to make exploratory calculations.

While either Clarke or Wilson would represent a substantial improvement over Barry, their political positions are quite different. Clarke, by running for mayor, would probably be donating the city council chair to Charlene Jarvis, one of the least progressive members of the council. Further, in a Clarke-Barry race, the latter could be counted on to attempt to polarize the community racially leading at best to a rather nasty campaign.

Wilson, on the other hand, has a safe seat and could run for mayor without endangering anything other than his peace of mind. He is, however, enough of a politician not to be inclined to make a sacrifice play for the job. Another possibility would be for Clarke to run for mayor and Wilson for city council chair.

The budget

After coming in with a $25 million surplus for last year, Mayor Barry is proposing a new budget that will increase social spending but keeps tax rates at their current levels. It sounds good but keep in mind three points:

- The budget does not take in account expected federal budget cutbacks. These cutbacks, according to a city council study, could amount to as much as $44 million.
- The new budget does not provide any funds for repayment of the city's longterm deficit — a joint responsibility of the Walter Washington and the Barry administrations. In the past Congress has demanded that the city budget $20 million to reduce this accumulated overspending of the past.
- While tax rates remain stable, this budget, as with previous ones, will be financed in no small part by a hidden tax increase, namely increased property taxes as a result of Washington's speculative real estate market. According to a Census Bureau report, DC's per capita real estate tax revenue increased 85.5% between 1980 and 1984. Only one state, Wyoming, had a greater increase. The next highest state is Florida, which has had a 56% increase, but then Florida's per capita taxes remain only a little more than half those of DC's. If Barry had proposed an

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annual increase of 21% in property taxes there would have been a tremendous howl. As it is, the increases are buried in the rising assessments and Barry, it would appear, gets off free.

The budget is spotted with election year goodies including an unusual increase in library funding. Libraries often come out the short end in budget battles but this year they are getting about a ten percent increase. Expect to hear about it during the campaign.

AIDs spending is also up dramatically as is funding for the Hispanic community, which jumps five fold this year.

The school system, however, came up short of what it wants and will have to engage in its usual struggle to enlist the aid of the city council to receive more than the 5% boost that Barry proposes.

Barry's games with the plan

Marion Barry is working hard to circumvent what meagre protection is provided the city by its comprehensive plan. The Barry administration is pressing the Zoning Commission to change its rules to allow planned unit developments on much smaller sites than is currently the case. PUDs are essentially a way of getting around zoning regulations, and permitting them on smaller sites will merely increase the havoc they have already caused in the city.

On another front, last March the city council approved a provision for ward planning councils to submit neighborhood plans to be incorporated as part of the citywide comprehensive plan. The deadline for submission was originally March 16. But the Barry administration didn't even appoint members of the ward groups until November, and then included developers and their lawyers as well as non-DC residents on the committees. Planning officials also scheduled only one meeting a month to work on the plan. Several months after the groups had been named they still hadn't received the necessary working documents from the city nor had a consultant been hired out of funds the council appropriated for that purpose. The deadline has been extended until June, but the Barry people are still hard at work to make the committees' efforts as ineffective as possible.

Council chair David Clarke says, "I have serious questions as to what extent the Office of Planning is serious about the development of ward plans that reflect citizen participation."

Meanwhile, development pressures on Connecticut and Wisconsin Avenues, heavily backed by Barry & Co, are reaching crisis proportions. At the site of the Cleveland Park park & shop, it is expected that the owners will seek a PUD seven to ten stories high if that site is not made part of the Cleveland Park historic district. A two block strip of neighborhood shops hang in the balance of that same decision. Meanwhile, on Wisconsin Avenue between Macomb and Ordway, not part of the proposed historic district, reports come of long-established stores losing their leases, a precursor of new development.

With Tenley Circle and Friendship Heights already under heavy seige, what is at stake is nothing less than the question of whether two fine avenues will be turned into replicas of K Street — further monuments to Barry's willingness to do almost anything for his developer friends.

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DC's population rose an estimated 1000 people in 1985, which doesn't sound like much except that it's the first increase since 1963. DC's population is still 12,000 below where it was five years ago and 176,000 below its 1950 level of 802,000. Maryland and Virginia also increased slightly in population last year. Maryland is up about four percent from 1980 and Virginia is up nearly 7%.

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PEPCO SUES TO DUCK MARYLAND TOXIC LAW

Faced with a state investigation of a PCB spill involving former PEPCO transformers sold to a company in Beltsville, the utility has gone to court to win a ruling declaring that state regulation of PCBs is preempted by federal statute. The Maryland law is tougher than that of the federal government. Tests found that hundreds of the transformers leaked and that the soil was contaminated. Richard Hall, Maryland assistant attorney general, called PEPCO's suit "a threat to the entire regulatory scheme in Maryland on PCB handling."

BRITS BUYING UP DOWNTOWN PROPERTY

The New York Times reports that British developers have amassed nearly

DC REPORT CARD

Here's our scorecard on the city council and the mayor. Generally we give two points plus or minus for a vote or mayoral action and one point for other public positions or actions taken or for a bill introduced. On especially important bills we give or take four points. Listed are the 1985-86 grades and percentile scores. We grade on a curve to make it a bit easier for our politicians. Incidentally, after reviewing the 1985 grades, which seemed a little inflated, we have readjusted the basis of the curve and the new grades reflect that. Here are this month's issues:

#1: The city council passed emergency legislation bringing under city insurance policies four community health clinics that had their liability insurance cancelled.

#2: The mayor loses four points for having too many scandals this month.

#3: Frank Smith introduces legislation that would help neighborhood groups interested in urban gardens.

#4 The mayor gets two points for producing a $25 million surplus in last year's budget.

#5 The mayor loses two points for violating court orders on jail overcrowding.

#6 H R Crawford and Betty Ann Kane lose a point for introducing workfare legislation.

#7 John Ray gains a point for a bill banning insurance discrimination related to AIDS.

	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#6	#7	'85-86 %	'85-86 GRADE
CLARKE	2							100%	A+
MASON	2							97%	A+
WILSON	2							78%	B+
SHACKLETON	2							76%	B+
ROLARK	2							76%	B+
SMITH	2		1					70%	B
WINTER	2							27%	D
JARVIS	2							22%	D-
SCHWARTZ	2							19%	F
KANE	2					-1		14%	F
CRAWFORD	2					-1		14%	F
RAY	2						1	11%	F
BARRY	2	-4		2	-2			11%	F
SPAULDING	2							0%	F

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$1 billion worth of property in downtown Washington, much of it in what the developer trade calls the "Golden Triangle" (between Connecticut, New Hampshire and Pennsylvania Avenues). But the Brits are active elsewhere as well. The Watergate is half-owned by the British Coal Board Pension Fund, Mazza Gallerie is half-owned by the British Petroleum Pension Fund and L'Enfant Plaza is mainly owned by the Electricity Supply Pension Fund. Oliver Carr, DC's own land-gobbler, complains that the British, by paying top dollar, have driven up the price of property: "The British investors have expected lower yields than American investors, so they've affected the market. Local investors traditionally have paid less for real estate, and expected higher yields." Yup.

LIDDY YES
SMEAL NO

G. Gordon Liddy, who spent five years in prison for his part in the Watergate affair, was allowed to speak at Catholic University. But NOW president Eleanor Smeal was apparently too much for the university to swallow, and after considerable backing and filling, it announced that Smeal would not be allowed to use university facilities for a public lecture there. Said John Joseph Murphy, CU executive vice president, "A private university is different from a public university and has different standards by which it evaluates these things." According to the Washington Post, Murphy added that the school has policies prohibiting some categories of speakers, such as those who advocate violence or the overthrow of the government.

This is not the first time CU has banned a feminist speaker. It happened back in 1971 when Ti-Grace Atkinson was stopped from speaking by the university. Student groups went to court and won a decision saying that Atkinson had a constitutional right of access to speak at the university. The campus chapter of the National Lawyers Guild is considering a similar suit in the Smeal case.

BANKERS STRIKE IT BIG

With surprisingly little concern on the part of the media, consumer groups, or our elected representatives, a major revolution in banking is underway in DC. An indication of what has occurred can be found in what happened to local bank stocks in the year leading up to January's passage of the banking bill that permitted DC banks to merge with regional banks. Among merger candidates, stocks prices rose an average of 52% — from a low of 18% for Century National to a high of 103% for American Security.

The phenomenal windfall granted the banks by the city council and the mayor even sets up, with your tax money, a superintendent's office to oversee mergers between banks. The measure, which appears to be more in keeping with the philosophy of the Reagan administration than with local rhetoric, won the support of even progressive members of the council. It was one of the worst acts that body has passed.

WATCH THE GREEN LINE

In all the moaning and groaning over what federal cutbacks will mean to the Green line, keep this in mind. The Green line has always been a low priority for Metro. As federal mass transit administrator Ralph Stanley points out, "It was Metro's board of directors that has denied funding to the Green line. Everytime funding has been provided for major segments of the Green line, they been been (shifted) in order to build in the more affluent suburbs first." Stanley also points out that Metro has enough funds to complete the Green line from U Street to Anacostia.

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SWAMPOODLE'S REPORT

Metro's latest order of buses, due in July, will have blue seats — all because a Metro official was injured. Shirley DeLibero, assistant general manager of bus services, was home recovering from foot surgery, when she read "Color Me Beautiful," a book on colors. There in the book was the current color of Metro bus seats: red-orange. The book said that the color incites violence and that blue was calming. DeLibero figures the change in color may reduce vandalism on the system's buses.

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You may think DC has a lot of bars, but it doesn't have any — at least not at liquor license renewal time. Only restaurants can be granted Class C liquor licences and a recent DC Court of Appeals ruling essentially told the ABC Board to stop winking at the requirement. The ABC Board had used city hall's interpretation that the applicant only needs to have the "intent" to serve food and meals. The Court of Appeals says that board must find that the "chief source of revenue" of such establishments is "from the preparation, cooking and serving of meals and not from the sale of beverages." Likely prospect: the city council will change the law. Otherwise we might end up with a situation such as your reporter found once in a bar —excuse me, restaurant, in St. John, New Brunswick where, under a simililar law he was forced to accompany his Canadian whiskey on the rocks with a little bowl of spinach as a chaser.

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The DC city council quietly expanded by two the length of hours during which the neighborhood parking restrictions are in force. New signs will be going up restricting non-ward cars until 830 pm.

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Nadine Winter dropped in on the DC police communications center to see how things were going at the home of "911." She found 15 telephones to answer emergency calls but only four dispatchers. She was told that two other dispatchers were at lunch, one was detailed to another position and three were on leave.

Josiah Swampoodle

Purveyor of fine split infinitives for over 48 years

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WHAT OTHER CITIES DO

Other city's not blessed with the financial largesse that Metro (or what Metro chair Gladys Mack incredibly calls "America's subway") has received over the years have been forced to seek more imaginative and less costly alternatives to their transportation problems. One of these is the use of the exclusive busway, often recommended by this journal. Pittsburgh, for example, has a 6.2 mile busway that is so popular it has become one of the city's busiest routes. Houston is building a 65-mile busway instead of a 18 mile subway that would have cost $2 billion for the first phase alone. Seattle is building a downtown mostly underground system using dual-mode buses. Above ground, these buses will be powered by diesel; underground they become trolley buses. The beauty of this system is that it can be easily converted to light rail at a later date.

FINDING THE FACTS

The media is almost maniacally event-oriented. Something has to happen before related information becomes news. Thus we can read endlessly about legislative battles at the local and federal level while having to search, often in vain, for data on what the legislation in dispute actually contains. If Jesus Christ were to show up again, it is unlikely the media would notice unless he called a news conference and/or hired a public relations consultant. A fine example of this problem occurred recently in the Washington Post. On page 1, the Post ran a story about the refusal of a medical technician and police to remove the body of a Washington AIDS victim. The town's medical examiner had to drive to the victim's basement apartment and personally assist to get the job done. The second paragraph of the story began: "The delay in removing the body set off a furor in the city as officials try to explain why educational efforts about AIDS apparently have not worked."

Well, the Post could have found part of the answer in the same issue —buried on page 28 in the second section. There was a major informational story on a study published by the New England Journal of Medicine that found that people living with AIDS victims but are not their sexual partners do not become infected even after months of personal contact. Once again, the press had led with the event and buried the facts.

THE SHAW DEAL: BUT DON'T TRY IT IN YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD

Let's try to explain this: Jeffrey Cohen, a developer buddy of the mayor, owns some land in Shaw. He wants to develop it but is a little short of cash. So he works up a deal whereby the city will buy the property (out of capital improvement funds) for $12 million. That's what Cohen's appraiser said the property was worth and the city believed him. Months later the city hired a second appraiser because people were saying the price was a tad high and the second appraiser said the site was only worth $6.6 million, but city officials explain that this second guy didn't understand the development potential of the property. Of course, he's not alone. The banks didn't understand either, and refused to finance the deal. That's why Cohen went to his buddy, the mayor.

So now the city has this land worth — if you believe this second appraiser — half of what it paid for it, and back comes Cohen wanting $5 million in industrial revenue bonds so he can get started on developing the project and paying back the city the $12 million it has already given the banks (including $1.25 million in interest). Cohen says if he can't get the bonds "we're in trouble because no bank will loan us money." Even city councilmembers who don't like the deal feel trapped because the city has already blown $12 million on the property and they would like to recoup

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the money. Councilmember Frank Smith, in whose ward all these wheelings and dealings are taking place, likes the deal because he thinks it's a bold attempt to revitalize the area.

Well, at this point, only the banks have been revitalized, Cohen is bold but unrevitalized, and the city is out $12 million. And if there is a solid public interest in using city funds in this way no one has pointed it out yet.

INSURANCE STRIKE HITS LOCAL CLINICS

The growing national insurance strike has hit four community health clinics. Some 120 community clinics nationwide have received insurance cancellation notices. The local ones are the Whitman-Walker Clinic, the Washington Free Clinic, Clinica del Pueblo and the Prince George's County Volunteer Health Clinic in Capitol Heights. An official of the Washington Free Clinic, which has been operating for 17 years, says that the clinic has never been sued. Neither has the Whitman-Walker Clinic. More than ten thousand people are served annually by these clinics, which are threatened by a decision of big insurance companies to get out of fields they consider risky.

The city council, to its credit, responded quickly to the crisis and passed emergency legislation that brings the clinics under the city's insurance program for at least the next six months. Meanwhile, George Washington University Medical Center has announced that it is affiliating with the Walker-Whitman Clinic. This is the first time a clinic for gays has had such an affiliation. Both clinic and university officials believe the change could help in the search for malpractice insurance.

AIDS'S UP IN METRO AREA

The Washington area is seeing a greater increase in AIDS cases than other metropolitan regions, according to figures from the federal Centers for Disease Control. The Washington area now ranks fifth in number of AIDS cases and seventh in incidence of cases. There have been about 550 AIDS cases in the area and more than half have resulted in death. New York has about 565 cases per million population while that Washington area has 168 cases. Ranked behind New York are San Francisco, Miami, Newark, Los Angeles, and Fort Lauderdale.

TENANT SETBACK IN MONTGOMERY COUNTY

The Montgomery County Council, by a four to three vote, rejected a bill that would have given MC first purchase rights on apartment buildings of ten or more units. The bill was intended as a way of preserving the county's rental housing, but it was defeated after lobbying by developers and apartment owners. Council president William Hanna was among the opponents, calling the measure "a blood relative of rent control."

FINDING LAND FOR URBAN GARDENS

DC councilmember Frank Smith has proposed legislation that would set up a clearinghouse for neighborhood groups interested in establishing urban gardens in vacant lots. There are some 20,000 such lots around the city and the demand for urban gardens is so great that there are 1500 people on a waiting list for an existing garden on 14th Street. The bill would require land owners to register vacant lots and indicate their plans for them. But the creation of a garden would be a voluntary matter between owner and group. Nonetheless, the Board of Trade and developers have come down hard on the idea, calling it an intrusion on property rights.

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Final contracts have been signed for an $150 million pagoda-style Far East Trade center in the heart of Chinatown. The designer promises, "It won't have a chop-suey look."

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POLITICS

With Barbara Mikulski leading in the Democratic polls and Linda Chavez gearing up for the Republican nomination, the Maryland senatorial race could be one of the most interesting and controversial in the nation — as well as the first time two women have challenged each other for the Senate race. Neither Mikulski nor Chavez mince words and the race could provide a fascinating and important conflict between progressives and the Reaganistas. Chavez is now an aide to Reagan and was formerly staff director of the US Civil Rights Commission during the time it was making its curious transformation from a protector of minority rights to a critic of those rights.

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Megan Rosenfeld took a more realistic look at Mary Sue Terry than usual in a January 23 piece in the Post. The article noted that she won the endorsement of Harry Byrd Jr. and that "she neither sought nor received the endorsement of feminist groups but the business community supported her with enthusiasm. Her support for the Equal Rights Amendment came only after she opposed it for four years in the legislature, and her pro-choice position on abortion was fogged by her support of a related bill to limit minors' access to the operation." Further, she has voted with the ACLU less often than good old boy and House speaker A.L. Philpot.

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Leon Billings, a key Capitol Hill staffer in the development of the environmental legislation of the past few decades, has launched his campaign for Mike Barnes seat. He's running in a crowded field that includes state senator Stewart Bainum, county councilmember Esther Gelman, Ford lobbyist Wendell Holloway and former Representative Carlton R. Sickles.

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Rep. Steny Hoyer says that Mike Barnes should think about dropping out of the Maryland senatorial contest, where he is trailing fellow progressive congressmember Barbara Mikulski. Hoyer told the Washington Times that if the polls still show Barnes trailing in April or May, "I will talk to Mike again." The Barnes camp has given no indication of dropping out, claiming that Mikulski's early lead is due to name recognition.

•

Undaunted by Marion Barry's record on many other matters, the Gertrude Stein Democratic Club leaped in and endorsed the mayor for reelection based on his support of gay and lesbian causes. Should Barry be seriously challenged it could mark the first time that Stein finds itself seriously estranged from other progressive groups.

•

PACs are showing their strength in the Maryland senatorial race. Barbara Mikulski, according to the last campaign report, got about 35% of her funds from PACs, including $4000 from AT&T PAC, and several labor and women's groups. Mike Barnes got about 15% of his funds from PACs, including contributions in the $1000 range from developers Oliver Carr, Charles Smith, John Hazel, and Morton and Norma Fungel. Governor Hughes' only PAC contribution was $1000 from First Maryland Bancorp. . . Meanwhile, in House races, Tom McMillan is probably tops for getting money from people around the country, thanks to his travels with the Bullets. And Wendell Holloway has gotten $2000 from four members of the New England Patriots, with which his son plays.

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THE ASTRODUD CONTINUED

The Washington Convention Center's booking report for this year helps explain why the Astrodud (see last month's issue) is in so much trouble. The center only has 21 national trade shows and conventions booked for 1985, bringing in an estimated 190,000-out-of town conventioneers over a total of 83 days. This falls far short of the 300,000 conventioneers center planners promised.

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DC councilmember Nadine Winter, who switched from a supporter to an opponent of no-fault insurance last year and who voted to limit rent control, has gotten nearly half the contributions reported in her first 1986 filing from lawyers and developers. That's nearly $14,000 from lawyers and $3000 from developers.

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MONTGOMERY TEACHERS UNHAPPY WITH THEIR LOT

A recent survey found that forty percent of Montgomery County teachers are "seriously considering leaving their profession," 91% of whom are dissatisfied with their salaries. The survey also found that 55% of the teachers said that they probably or certainly would not become teachers if they had it to do all over again. Montgomery has the second lowest starting teachers pay in the area.

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And if you think that's bad. . .

• DC councilmember H. R. Crawford has introduced a workfare bill. Could mean indentured servitude for tens of thousands of DC residents receiving public assistance.

DC Party Registration

PARTY TOTALS BY WARD, AS OF DECEMBER 31, 1985

WARD	REP	DEM	STH	N-P	OTH	TOTALS
1	1,989	24,280	202	3,529	130	30,130
2	3,920	22,292	139	4,590	128	31,069
3	9,052	23,406	98	6,412	174	39,142
4	1,647	34,884	161	3,052	85	39,829
5	1,222	32,540	178	2,871	63	36,874
6	1,887	26,270	174	3,429	74	31,834
7	1,024	28,759	167	2,489	49	32,485
8	460	20,217	131	1,914	40	22,762
	21,201	212,648	1,250	28,283	743	264,125

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• A new law passed by the city council requires city officials who come on business to your home and don't find you there to leave a notice attached to your doorknob. It's supposed to make it easier to get back to city hall; but it also makes it easier for burglars to know you're not home.

• James Aluisi, sheriff of Prince George's County, recently appeared in ad for the National Rifle Association. An NRA official said the ad campaign was meant to move the organization away from "its good old boy image." Say again?

• A federal appeals court has upheld Virginia's laws against unmarried cohabitation and fornication.

• The federal government is not accepting any more city prisoners, as it puts pressure on DC to build a new jail.

• The number of apartment units in Fairfax County has steadily declined in the past ten years and rents have risen as much as ten percent annually. County families with annual incomes below the poverty line spend an average of 41% of their income on housing.

On the other hand. . .

• The Montgomery County council has given itself authority to put a cap on construction in areas with intolerable traffic problems.

• With the Virginia House appropriations committee approving a $5 million line of credit, prospects for one trip-a-day rail commuter service between Fredericksburg and Union Station brightened. Some say it could come by April.

• The Barry administration has finally discovered that it doesn't have to sell its land to developers. Under a new housing program, some 250 units could be built each year for lower income residents. This will in no way meet the demand but what's interesting about the program is that the city will either buy vacant land or land with vacant buildings on it, then **lease** it to developers at low rates. Says housing and community development official William Hobbs, in charge of the program, "It's cheaper than the city building it themselves or paying subsidies to the tenants."

• A bill that would have defined a fetus with a chance for life as a person was defeated in committee in the Virginia legislature.

Furthermore

Casey Deminico and Nick Adams are trying to line up money to buy an AM station that could become the nation's first gay radio station. Odds are pretty heavy against them and even some gay activists suggest that this might be a case of media overkill.

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Uncomfortable about absorbing the financially troubled Antioch Law School, the UDC Board of Trustees has decided to hold a public hearing on the question. There is opposition to the idea at UDC, in part because some officials and faculty feel that the university has enough trouble sorting out its own financial and administrative problems. Others are concerned that the university could open itself to another reaccreditation evaluation if it takes on Antioch. UDC was accredited last summer. Antioch Law says that UDC would not have to absorb any of its current liabilities.

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WHUR is now number one in the local broadcast ratings — the first time any college-owned station has won such a title.

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Roses to the DC Office of Community Services for its calendar of neighborhood commission and civic association meetings. This is the sort of useful information the government too rarely provides. To get on the mailing list for the quarterly calendar call 727-6520.

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LAND WARS

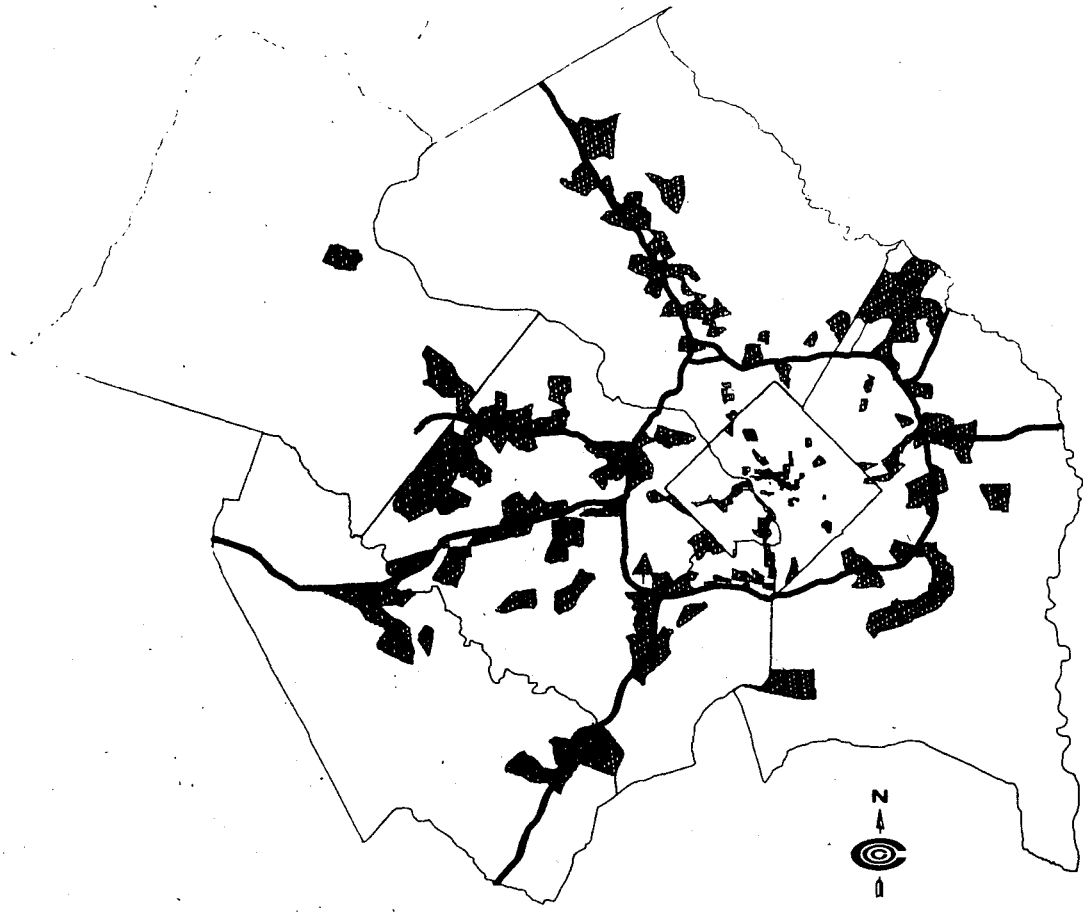
Endangered

Downtown, DC: The DC Preservation League and the Committee of 100 have filed suit to protect the 8th Street vista, proposed site of the gargantuan Techworld development. The suit charges that the project is 20 feet taller than is legally permissable at that location, that the city council did not have the right to convey air-rights over 8th Street for a planned bridge, since 8th Street is a federally-owned street, and that the project has not undergone the full review required by law.

Vienna, Va: The Fairfax County planning staff is recomending development of more than 7 million square feet of commercial and residential space next to the Vienna Metro stop. Included in the plans are 3.8 million square feet of commercial and retail space, 700 hotel rooms and 2600 housing units.

Washington, DC: The city's planning department has proposed permitting foreign chancery office buildings at nearly 200 additional locations. Most of these are currently university and

Areas with 100,000 Square Feet of Commercial Nonresidential Development Started 1980-1985



SOURCE: COG

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hospital land. Many of the other locations are in Ward 3. Since 1982 the number of acres in the city available for chancery office use as a matter of right has increased from 600 to 2700 acres. Since chanceries bring the same problems as commercial office development, there is considerable community opposition to increasing the space allocated to such use.

Lost

Dupont Circle, DC: The informal headquarters of Washington activism since the 1960s, a flat-iron office building at 1346 Conecticut Ave NW, has been sold by the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers to a group headed by the Corneal Development Corporation. More than half the tenants, many of them public interest and activist groups, have already moved out. The stores on the ground floor are moving as well, led by the Palace Florists, which has occupied its space for more than 40 years. The new owners plan to preserve the building and convert it to higher priced office use.

Rosslyn, Va: The Arlington County Board has given unanimous approval to a $50 million, 19-story office building. The structure will be on a site that is nearly the last available in Rosslyn. Board chair Margaret Whipple says, "What we may look forward to in the future is some redevelopment of existing roperties, not new project on vacant blocks." Thus Rosslyn becomes the first jurisdiction to halt development because there simply wasn't room to put another high-rise.

Partial gain

Centreville, Va: The Fairfax Board of Supervisors has voted to adopt in concept a citizen-backed plan for the development of Centreville. The decision is subject to a final vote. The plan was opposed by developers who hold land in the town, including the Hazel-Peterson Company, which owns 448 acres, and the Cadillac-Fairview Company, which owns 112 acres. The citizen task force had recommended that 1400 acres be devoted to residential use, 114 acres to commercial, and 228 acres to mixed use. The developers wanted twice the building density, with a shift away from residential towards commercial and office use.

Montgomery County state senator Stewart Bainum Jr. has joined the race for the congressional seat now held by Mike Barnes who is running for Senate. Now in the race are consultant Bernard Aronson, former Hill liberal staffer Leon Billings, county councilmember Esther Gelman, Ford lobbyist Wendell Holoway, and ex-representative Carleton Sickles. At last report, Bainum was running ahead of his competitors in fund-raising. He's the heir to the Manor Care fortune and the leader in the effort to deny state tax benefits to the Burning Tree country club for its refusal to admit women members. He also opposed the sale of Merritt Commercial Savings & Loan to a New York company, saying it would give Merrit's owner a multimillion dollar windfall.

•

Prince Georges County has about 700 households with no indoor plumbing. Even Montgomery County has 260 such households.

•

The US Marshall's office reports that it is carrying out evictions in DC at the rate of nearly one thousand a month.

•

There are growing complaints about the condition of DC's 12,000 public housing units where nearly a tenth of the city's population lives. Councilmember John Wilson says that "Our public housing is in the worst shape since I've been in office."

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How DC schools compare

A group of 19 business and civic leaders, sponsored by Parents United, have prepared a report on the fiscal needs of the DC schools. Members of the panel visited typical DC and suburban schools to learn first hand how the resources supplied to the schools shape the quality of education. Here is some of what they found:

While suburban systems are regularly able to provide small classes (15 to 20 students per teacher) for children with special needs, only a small percentage of the students receive similar levels of support in the District of Columbia.

Montgomery County rules limit class size to 28 for English and 32 for other subjects. Using those guidelines, Rockville High exceeded the standards in 10 classes, Coolidge exceeded that standard in 56 classes in the academic subjects alone.

Every suburban principal stated that major problems like roof leaks are fixed immediately.

Every suburban principal reports regular servicing of their physical plant to paint, plaster and repair major and small pieces of equipment.

All District principals reported that leaks are persistent problems that are sometimes not repaired for years. All District principals reported that critical audio-visual equipment has been broken for years.

Principals in the District schools we visited reported that the buildings had not been repainted in 10 to 15 years.

The number of clubs and activities available to students in the suburban schools we examined was far greater than offerings in the City schools.

Fairfax and Montgomery Counties allocate one counselor for each 270 pupils and have an additional college/career center run by a full time aide. The District allocates one counselor for 400 students and has no career aides.

City librarians have no assistants. They are overburdened with the clerical record-keeping and lack the time they need to provide academic assistance to students.

The annual library budget in one suburban high school was $11,000 while it was $2,000 in the D.C. high school.

Elementary school expenditures are:
$ 44 per pupil in D.C.
$ 56 per pupil in Montgomery County
$ 70 to 80 in Fairfax County

Junior High expenditures are:
$ 44 per pupil in D.C.
$ 88 per pupil in Montgomery County.
$102 per pupil in Fairfax County.

Senior High school expenditures are:
$ 52 per pupil in D.C.
$ 91 per pupil in Montgomery County.
$ 70 per pupil in Fairfax County

Teachers in suburban schools indicate that few requests for materials are denied.

Teachers in D.C. schools say they nolonger ask for materials because they know they will not receive them.

D.C. principals are forced to spend time as receptionists and paper processors because they lack sufficient staff.

D.C.principals have less time to perform the administrative and educational functions that are important to the schools's program than are suburban principals.

Financial support for coaches and faculty advisors is far lower in the City than in the suburbs.

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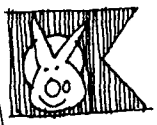
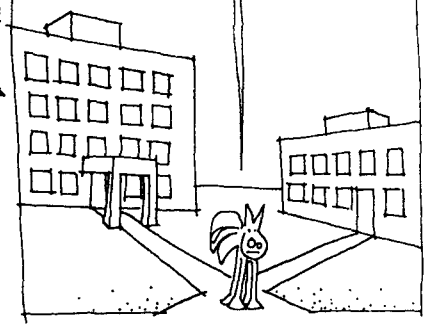
ARCHHORSE

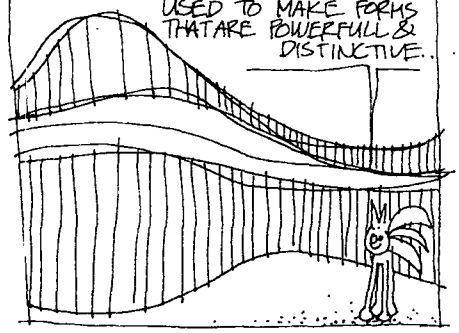
CHALLENGING THE FORCES THAT BRING US RIGID BUILDINGS



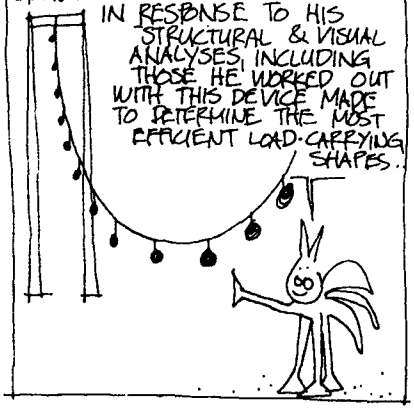
WALKING AROUND & LOOKING AT CITIES CAN MAKE YOU THINK THAT ARCHITECTS CAN DRAW ONLY RIGHT ANGLES & STRAIGHT LINES...



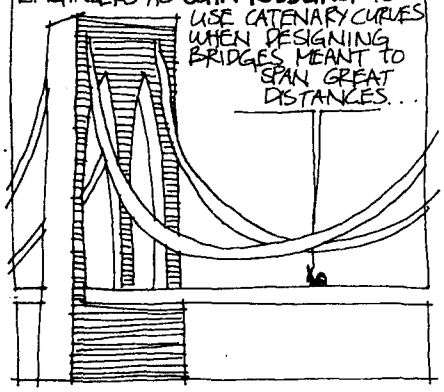
SOMETIMES THOUGH, AS IN THE WORKS PUT UP BY **ANTONIO GAUDI** EARLIER IN THIS CENTURY IN SPAIN, CURVED LINES HAVE BEEN USED TO MAKE FORMS THAT ARE POWERFULL & DISTINCTIVE..



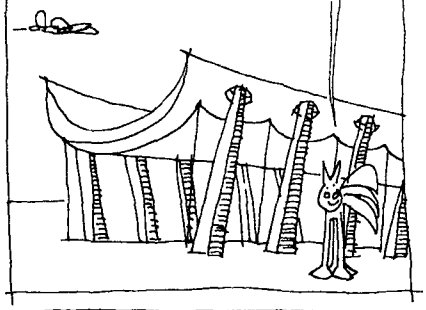
GAUDI DEVELOPED HIS CURVES IN RESPONSE TO HIS STRUCTURAL & VISUAL ANALYSES, INCLUDING THOSE HE WORKED OUT WITH THIS DEVICE MADE TO DETERMINE THE MOST EFFICIENT LOAD-CARRYING SHAPES..



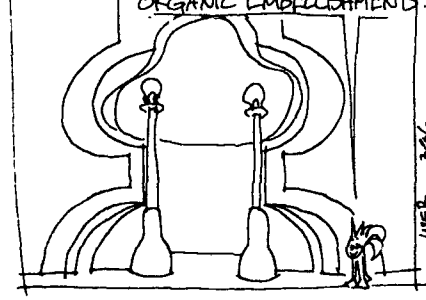
SIMILAR ANALYSES LED SUCH GREAT ENGINEERS AS **JOHN ROEBLING** TO USE CATENARY CURVES WHEN DESIGNING BRIDGES MEANT TO SPAN GREAT DISTANCES...



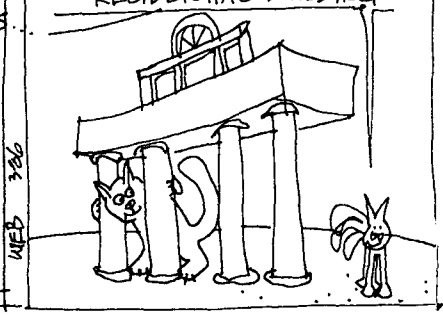
EERO SAARINEN'S TERMINAL AT DULLES SHOWS THAT EVEN RECENT BUILDINGS HAVE USED CURVED FORMS SUCCESSFULLY.



WASHINGTON ARCHITECT & SCULPTOR **DICKSON CARROLL** HAS DESIGNED THIS OFFICE BUILDING ENTRANCE AS WELL AS BUS STOPS — EVEN FURNITURE — RICH WITH CURVED LINES & ORGANIC EMBELLISHMENTS..



& SCULPTRESS **JOAN DANZIGER** HAS SHOWN HOW TO BRING CURVES TO THE SEMI-GEORGIAN FORMS THAT AFFLICT SO MUCH OF OUR INSTITUTIONAL & RESIDENTIAL BUILDING...



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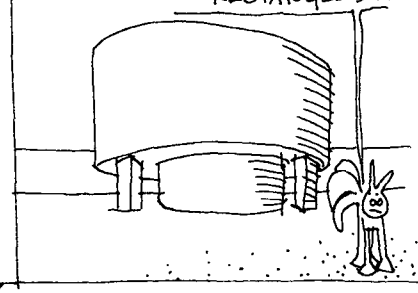
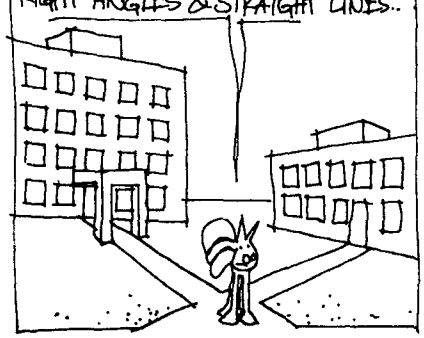
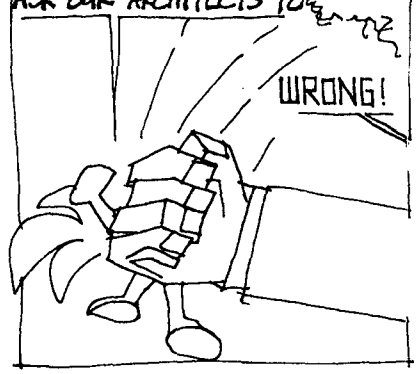
THESE ATTRACTIVE EXAMPLES ARE ALL TOO FEW, AS MOST OF OUR CURVED BUILDINGS ARE REALLY ONLY CIRCULAR — AS IS THE HIRSHHORN MUSEUM — MAKING THEM AS THOROUGHLY RIGID AS RECTANGLES...



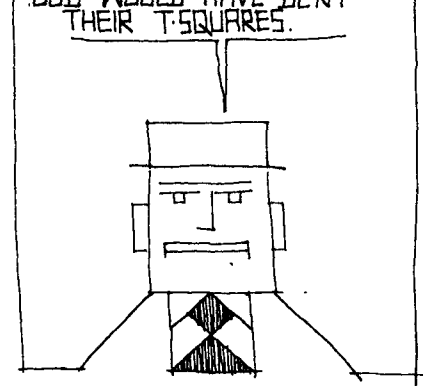
& WE ARE LEFT, GENERALLY, TO WALK AROUND & LOOK AT CITIES THAT MAKE US THINK THAT ARCHITECTS CAN DRAW ONLY RIGHT ANGLES & STRAIGHT LINES..



BUT, OUR BUILDINGS DON'T ALL HAVE TO BE SO RIGID — **WE CAN ASK OUR ARCHITECTS TO**



IF ARCHITECTS WERE MEANT TO DRAW CURVED BUILDINGS GOD WOULD HAVE BENT THEIR T-SQUARES.



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